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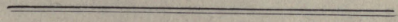


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IRISH FACTS

JANUARY 1908

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THE NEW IRELAND

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Vol. 3.—No. 1.]

[JANUARY, 1909.

CURRENT NOTES.

Oppressed Loyalists.

We venture to call the attention of our readers to the following important manifesto which has recently appeared in the Irish newspapers. Here is an opportunity to do more than lip-service to the oppressed Loyalists in the South and West of Ireland, and we will gladly forward to its proper destination any sum of money sent to us for the benefit of boycotted families and others suffering from the evil attentions of the United Irish League:—

“As the result of a growing feeling throughout the North of Ireland that help should be given to boycotted and ill-treated Loyalists throughout the country irrespective of creed, the following resolution was adopted on the 9th inst. by the Grand Lodge of Ireland:—

“That this Grand Lodge, sympathising deeply with oppressed Loyalists, irrespective of creed, throughout Ireland, and with a view to helping them, authorises the Grand Secretary to communicate with the various County Grand Lodges and with other local organisations of Loyalists, with the object of ascertaining whether help can be given by the Orange Institution, and in order that action may be taken where it is found possible to give such help as may be required, the following committee be appointed:—The Earl of Erne, K.P., Lord Farnham, D.L., Colonel the Honourable H. E. Maxwell, Major Sir James H. Stronge, Bart., Colonel R. H. Wallace, C.B., Mr. E. M. Archdale, D.L., Mr. W. H. H. Lyons, D.L., Major J. C. Madden, D.L., Colonel R. T. G. Lowry, D.L., Mr. W. J. Allen, J.P., Captain Somerset Saunderson, D.L., Mr. Frank Donaldson, Mr. David W. Foy, Mr. C. W. Dunbar-Buller, D.L.’

“The committee has held its first meeting, and has opened an account in the Belfast Bank, College Green, Dublin, in the joint names of Lord Erne and Lord Farnham. Every County Grand Lodge in Ireland will be called on to give assistance financially and otherwise, and an urgent appeal will be issued to the Loyalists of England and Scotland for funds to carry on the work.”

Statistics of Outrage.

The following are some recent figures given by Mr. Birrell in reply to questions respecting the growth of lawlessness and disorder in Ireland.

The number of agrarian outrages reported to the police were:—

1906 (12 months)	..	..	..	..	234
1907 (12 months)	..	..	..	..	372
1908 (11 months)	..	..	..	..	537

The number of persons under police protection :—

	Constant.		Patrol.	
On January 31, 1906	..	41	..	167
On November 30, 1908	..	79	..	272

The number of persons boycotted :—

	November 30, 1905.		November 30, 1908.	
Wholly boycotted	..	13	..	68
Partially boycotted	..	40	..	42
Minor boycotting	..	109	..	730
Total	162	..	840

The number of shooting outrages :—

	Firing at the person.		Firing into dwellings.	
1907 (12 months)	..	9	..	40
1908 (11 months)	..	40	..	81

Cattle-drives during October and November, 1908 :—

October	..	..	..	..	44
November	..	..	..	..	74
Total for 1908 (to November 30)	..	..	..	..	635
Total for 1907 (12 months)	..	..	..	..	390

Peaceful Unionist Ulster.

Mr. Justice Madden, in his opening speech at the Ulster Winter Assizes on December 1, said :—

“He was happy to be able to say that the result of the return made to him in the ordinary course was to show that the great and important area of the country included in the Ulster Winter Assizes was, speaking generally, **in its normal condition, which they all recognised was the condition of an orderly and law-abiding community.**”—*Belfast News Letter*, December 2.

The condition of parts of Ireland where the Home Rulers are predominant is shown in the following paragraphs. Our readers will note the contrast.

“No Limit to Criminality.”

At the Connaught Winter Assizes at Limerick on December 1 Mr. Justice Kenny said :—

“With reference to the general condition of the counties comprised in the Connaught Winter Assize order, he had been furnished with the particulars of offences specially recorded as having been committed since the Summer Assizes, and he regretted to say that they were **very distressing indeed.** He found that as compared with the corresponding period of last year there had been an **increase** in the number of offences **in five counties**, viz., Clare, Limerick, Mayo, Roscommon, and Sligo, and a decrease in three, viz., Galway, Leitrim, and the city of Limerick.

“Of these counties which showed an increase, one, namely, **the County of Clare, occupied a position of evil pre-eminence that every**

right-thinking man should deplore. **Criminality in that county had apparently put no limit to its excess.** This time last year the number of recorded cases was **53**; now he regretted to say that there were **123**. Of these there were 52 cases of intimidation by firearms and threatening letters; 10 cases of firing at the person; 11 cases of firing into the dwelling-house; 16 incendiary fires; 16 cases of injury to property, such as cattle-driving and cattle maiming. So **exceptionally gross** was the condition of things in that county that 159 additional police had been drafted.

"In the County of Limerick there was an increase of 5 in the number of reported cases, in Mayo 3, Roscommon 8, and Sligo 29; while in Galway, strange to say, there was a decrease of 31 in the number of reported cases, Leitrim 8, and the City of Limerick 6. In all these counties, with the exception of Limerick City and County and Mayo, the class of offence reported was conversant with cases of intimidation.

"These very alarming statistics were confirmed by the reports of those responsible for the peace of the respective counties, and except in their own county and city it was obviously impossible for him to offer congratulations on the condition of these counties."—*Dublin Daily Express*, December 2.

An Apathetic Government.

Continuing, Mr. Justice Kenny said:—

"It was not his business to suggest remedies for the wretched state of things that existed, but he took the liberty to repeat what he stated at a former Assizes, that **the ordinary law of the land if to some extent was put in force would be able to cope with the lawlessness** which existed in some parts of Ireland. He was informed that 685 additional police had been drafted into the five counties reported, and yet a small proportion of the perpetrators of the outrages had only been made amenable.

"Like other people, he read the newspapers, and he could not help observing that complaints were made that the ordinary law of the land was all that was resorted to in the repression of crime. It seemed to him that **the ordinary law of the land was not fully resorted to**. In cases of cattle-driving and unlawful assembly there was a summary remedy open to the police to put the law in motion, namely, to have the cases investigated by two Resident Magistrates at Petty Sessions instead of resorting to the cumbrous method of sending them to Assizes, or the absolutely futile one of binding to the peace."—*Dublin Daily Express*, December 2.

Free Trade in Firearms.

Mr. Justice Kenny, in his address, drew attention to the great increase in shooting outrages. He said:—

"When reading the depositions in these and other cases, and more especially in the police reports on outrages, he had been very much struck by the general and prevailing use of firearms in these several counties, and particularly of revolvers. In the Counties of Clare and Galway a large proportion of the outrages were accompanied by the use of firearms. In the County of Clare alone there were eleven cases of firing into the dwelling-house and ten cases of firing at the

person. He need scarcely impress upon the jury that was a very terrible condition of things, disorganising society and bringing, as it necessarily should, untold misery to many a home."—*Dublin Daily Express*, December 2.

When the Grand Jury at Connaught Assizes concluded their business on December 2, the foreman, Sir Vincent Nash, read the following resolution passed by the Grand Jury :—

"Resolved: That we, the Grand Jury of the City of Limerick at Connaught Winter Assizes, recognising the dangerous facilities afforded the general public of obtaining firearms, particularly revolvers, and realising that these facilities have been the cause of several of the cases which have come before us for consideration, most respectfully suggest that the learned Judge presiding at the Assizes do convey to the proper authorities our unanimous protest against the indiscriminate sale and use of firearms, and our opinion that some restriction should be placed on the sale and carrying of the same."—*Dublin Daily Express*, December 3.

On this grave question Mr. Justice Gibson, at the Leinster Assizes at Dublin, on December 2, was compelled to comment. He said :—

"Firearms exercise a strange and sometimes irresistible fascination and temptation to their possessors, and the free trade in firearms which now prevails is of **immense public danger**, and should be subjected to legislative restriction. Shooting seems to have become in some parts of the country a matter of lamentable frequency. **The mischief is one which urgently demands the attention of Parliament.** When I was last on the North-West Circuit dealing with party processions where firearms are often carried, I adverted to this gross and growing peril arising from citizens carrying loaded weapons upon their persons without any necessity arising for reasonable self-protection."—*Dublin Daily Express*, December 3.

Yet Mr. Birrell, who dropped the Peace Preservation Act from the Statute Book, refuses to restrict in any way free trade in firearms. In a light and airy manner he expresses doubts whether the increasing number of shooting outrages is really to be attributed to his foolish deed.

A Saturnalia of Crime.

In summing up in a case at the Connaught Assizes, in which certain men, among them a District Councillor, were charged with attacking three men and two policemen, Mr. Justice Kenny said :—

"In this district of Galway, where there was a **saturnalia of crime**, there was a band of terrorists and desperadoes going about intimidating and attacking defenceless people in the locality. . . . This was a shocking state of affairs in that part of the County of Galway bordering on Clare. There was no case of landlord and tenant in this case. These people waylaid men examined for the prosecution, assaulted, hurled one into a ditch, and trampled on him until they all got away. **What were they coming to in this country ?**"—*Irish Times*, December 9.

How Clare Fares.

How do the peaceful inhabitants of Co. Clare fare under Mr. Birrell's rule? District Inspector John M'Nally, giving evidence at Kilrush on November 21, related the happenings in the district since May last. Said the police officer:—

"Since May last the dispute between Mr. James Griffin and his neighbours about the Derrybrick Farm had reached a very acute stage. The locality was in a very disturbed state. Several outrages had been committed on Mr. James Griffin himself. Outrages had also been committed on Mr. Griffin's friends and supporters."

"On the 13th June last a stack of turf belonging to Patrick Langan, of Derrybrick, was burned.

"On August 3 the windows of the house of Denis Ryan, Rossbeg, were smashed, and a fork and a threatening notice were thrown in through one of them. Ryan was a workman of Griffin's, and subsequently left his employment.

"On the 18th June hair was cut off the tail and mane of Michael McDonnell's horse; the windows of Patrick Hogan's forge at Crossbeg were broken on the 12th August; the windows of the house of Michael Culligan, at Crossbeg, were broken twice, as the latter's sons worked for Griffin, and had subsequently to leave; an outhouse of Mr. John Crotty, D.C., at Monmore, was burned down on the 24th September; the windows of Michael Croke's house at Ballinagun were smashed on the 30th September, and the windows of the house of Mr. Charles Fitzgerald, D.C., at Tullycrive, on the 31st October; the hair was cut off the tail and mane of the horse of Mr. Patrick Lilles, D.C., on the 1st November.

"A threatening notice was posted upon the house of Laurence Quin, Benvoran, on the 6th November, and the house of John Halpin, at Drumdigas, was visited by a barefooted band of men on the night of the 13th November.

"All those persons whose names he had now mentioned were either friends, supporters, or workmen of Mr. James Griffin. The police force in the locality had to be substantially augmented to protect Mr. Griffin and his friends, and a police hut had to be specially erected for Mr. Griffin's protection."—*Dublin Daily Express*, November 23.

A Human Document.

In the following paragraphs are related the experiences of Mr. Charles N. Clarke, who has the misfortune to live in a district under the rule of the United Irish League. The story also throws a light on those "poor people" who, Mr. Birrell tells us, are "right" in demanding for the land. At a time when the British taxpayer is called upon for further assistance in financing Irish Land Purchase, it is well to be able to get at the facts that he may better judge whether his help is merited. Here is the narrative of Mr. Clarke's experiences:—

"He resides at Graiguenoe Park, Holycross, Co. Tipperary, on an estate he inherited from his father in 1884. Since then he has lived the life of a resident landowner. **He sold to his tenants more than three years ago** and added land to their holdings.

"He also sold 100 acres, at the same time, of his home farm, and has intimated that he is willing to sell 200 acres more of it when he has been paid for the land he sold three years ago.

"The only property which he now has left is his demesne and home farm, containing altogether 1,000 Irish acres. This includes 100 acres of tillage and 100 acres of woodland.

"This home farm adjoins his demesne and is all in a ring fence. He farms it all himself, following the practice of his father and grandfather. It has never been let for 11 months' grazing. He has no outlying farms nor evicted farms. He pays about £1,000 a year in wages, and there are more than 100 people entirely dependent upon him.

"He has never objected to giving a site for a labourer's cottage.

"The United Irish League have been trying to force him to sell his home farm to the Estates Commissioners.

"He lived on excellent terms with his neighbours until the Estates Commissioners bought up and distributed the estates of Barnane and Dundrum.

"Dundrum House, the residence of the late Earl de Montalt, has been turned into a convent, and the demesne has been cut up into allotments. The United Irish League think that all other estates ought to be treated in the same way

"On the Barnane Estate many of the new occupiers are letting their holdings on the 11 months' grazing system.

"This is not a congested district, and the men who are most anxious to grab his land **have already large farms** of their own.

"On November 17 eight men were bound over to keep the peace for attempting to intimidate him; in default they went to gaol.

"On the same evening the Holycross Land League Band, followed by a large mob, forced their way through his entrance gate and seriously injured the policemen who tried to stop them. They then marched along his carriage drive, passing close in front of his house, went through his yard, round his demesne, and returned to the road out of his entrance gate.

"They threw stones at the house and broke two windows.

"His hall door bears marks of the assault made upon it with stones and kicks. They also smashed a window at his gate lodge.

"The Holycross chapel bell was rung for hours in order to assemble the bands and crowds.

"He has been boycotted in Thurles, which is his nearest market town."

Since the above was written, further information has come to hand. Eight persons were arrested in respect of the demonstration on November 17, among them being the Secretary of a branch of the United Irish League.

They were tried at Cashel, and were committed to the Assizes. When the decision was announced, says the *Irish Times* (November 24),

"A large crowd who had assembled outside the barracks became excited, and fired a fusillade of stones at the police. Batons were immediately drawn and orders were given to charge the mob. The orders were quickly obeyed, and police and people were soon in conflict. The crowd pelted volleys of stones, while the police freely

used their batons. After a pretty stiff fight, the mob were forced back, and in the retreat many of them were felled to the ground. The town seemed in a state of siege, all the business houses being closely shuttered and the doors closed.

"So menacing was the crowd that Mr. Clarke when leaving the barracks had to be escorted by policemen.

"After 4 o'clock the prisoners were removed from the barracks and were conveyed in a brake to Clonmel Prison under a heavy police escort.

"Towards 6 o'clock the town was strongly garrisoned by police, cordons being drawn across the streets at various points."

We learn from the *Dublin Daily Express* (November 25) that later in the evening the rioting was renewed. The police were pelted with bottles and stones, and retaliated by baton charges. The renewed riots lasted some three and a half hours.

An Irish Wedding.

From the *Dublin Daily Express* (December 1):—

"News is to hand to-day of an extraordinary shooting outrage on Saturday night at a place called Caherbullane, near Corofin, where a wedding party returning from Ennis were fired at, the fire being returned.

"From the details it appears that the bride, who was a Miss Cahill, and the groom, a farmer named Burke, returned to the residence of the latter, near Gort, by the evening train, while the friends of the bride drove from Ennis to Caherbullane on cars.

"All went well until the party were almost turning into the road leading to the dwelling-house, when suddenly a number of shots were discharged from opposite sides of the road.

"The females of the party jumped off the cars and shrieked, while some of the men returned the shots, and at this stage a sergeant from Corofin and a couple of constables, who had been cycling after the party, dashed up and discharged several volleys in the direction whence the shots first came.

"Another patrol, under Mr. Holmes, D.I., was in the vicinity, and these were quickly on the scene and a search was made in the neighbourhood, but there was nothing to indicate that anyone had been hit in the fusillade.

"In all the attacking party fired about ten shots, while the police and wedding party discharged sixteen shots. The police are still investigating the occurrence.

"One night last week, while Burke's friends were driving to Miss Cahill's place to complete the marriage negotiations, as they were going through Rock Forest they met a wall of stones built across the road, across which the horses fell in the dark. As the parties got off the cars to remove the obstacles, several shots were fired at them and two men, named Hall and Hynes, were wounded, the former in the hand and the latter in the head, by shot pellets. No one has been arrested in the latter case."

A Wretched Life.

At the Connaught Assizes the Counsel for the Crown outlined the life led by Mr. James Griffin, a farmer and J.P., under Mr. Birrell's rule. Counsel said that:—

“Kinlea was in a disturbed condition. A man named James Griffin had bought a farm at a place called Derrybrick, in this district, in the month of March or April, from the Fitzgeralds. Griffin previously held the farm for 22 years. He purchased the farm for 450 sovereigns, and in the month of May, in the present year, it became known through the district that he had done so, and from that time down to this 18th November not only Griffin but all persons friendly with him, who worked for him, or countenanced him in any way, **were subjected to persecution, intimidation, and, in some cases, to outrage.**

“In the month of May last, Michael Halpin, brother of John, was minding a horse for Griffin, and on the 18th or 19th May, into the house of Michael and his brother John Halpin was put a threatening notice.

“On the 13th June the hair was cut off the tails of three horses of Mr. Griffin.

“A man named Lorrigan, a friend of Mr. Griffin's, had his turf maliciously burned.

“On the 18th June, Michael M'Donnell, who was also a friend of Mr. Griffin, had the hair cut off his horse.

“On the 16th July, Mr. Griffin's machinery was maliciously destroyed.

“And on the 15th September a very alarming and significant thing occurred to Mr. Griffin. He was coming along the road on that evening, and when he was within a mile of his house he heard a whistle or something to cause apprehension, so he pulled out his revolver. Immediately he saw in a hedge a man with a double-barrelled gun, and this man fired at Mr. Griffin, who discharged his revolver, and the man went away after some more shots. After the man had gone a place was found prepared for the ambush at the side of the road, there being a bundle of hay in it and an empty whiskey bottle. Mr. Griffin was struck on the head with some of the shot.

“He had been all along subjected to a severe boycott, and was under police protection. After Mr. Griffin was fired at **all his workmen left his employment**, and he could only get outsiders to do his work.

“A man named Crotty had his house burned because he was a friend of Mr. Griffin.

“Mr. M'Donnell and Mr. Lilly, friends of Mr. Griffin, had their horses maimed, and on the 2nd November last, Michael Halpin did what led up to the present proceedings. He had the temerity to sleep at Mr. Griffin's house, and on the following day, the 3rd November, five or six men, barefooted, were discovered in an out-office of John Halpin's house. They were barefooted to avoid noise, or a discovery by boot-marks, and when discovered they ran away. They came there because Michael Halpin had the audacity to sleep in Mr. Griffin's house.

"Mr. Griffin was only married within the last two years, and **his young wife was living in this place in a state of terror, fearing the lawless people about her,** although he, counsel, did not for a moment suggest that all those living there were so.

"On the 18th November, about half-past two o'clock, John Halpin, a brother of Michael Halpin, was sitting in his kitchen. His sister was there, and they heard a shouting of 'Come out now.' He went out and saw the prisoners there, standing on the road. Hennessy said, 'Come on, you —,' and he urged him to fight. Leary said he would put down Griffin's backers, and Hennessy said to Halpin to come on, that he would give him anything he wanted. Halpin threw off his coat, and challenged the prisoners to fight, that he would fight them one after the other. Halpin was in the field, and the prisoners on the road, and Hennessy said it was well Halpin did not come up to them, for he would leave him in his gore. The prisoners moved up the road, Halpin keeping them in view, and when near the forge at the cross road Hennessy took out a revolver, pointed it at Halpin deliberately, and fired a shot at him. They then ran away, followed by Halpin and two persons named Patrick and David Keely. Hennessy turned round again, presented his revolver, and told them to come on if they dared. The accused were subsequently arrested by the police. **Counsel asked was it not time to put down this state of terror—people defying the law, and intimidating peaceable people from doing their business.**"—*Irish Times*, December 10.

His Majesty's Servants.

Even His Majesty's servants do not escape intimidation in this Birrell-ridden land. At the Connaught Assizes seven men were tried for intimidating a postman at Keea, in Co. Sligo, on January 8, 1908.

The Crown counsel thus described the incidents attached to the delivery of letters in the district:—

"On the morning of January 8 a man named Patrick Killeran, who was at that time an official of the Post Office, was delivering letters in the neighbourhood of the village of Keea. **He was accompanied by seven policemen,** who, the jury might be surprised to hear, were unable to protect him in the discharge of his duty.

"It appeared that when the postman arrived at the place with his police guard he was met by a crowd of **sixty or seventy persons groaning and blowing horns, and armed with freshly-cut sticks.** One of the prisoners, Thomas J. Nangle, told the postman that he was a dirty, mean, little fellow, doing the work of the process-server. Counsel was instructed that amongst the letters in the custody of the postman were some registered letters. The crowd followed the postman and closed around him in a very violent and excited manner, while from the neighbouring districts came additional reinforcements.

"The crowd called on the postman to give up the mail bag. Killeran yielded to the violence of their demands, and taking the bag off his shoulders flung it in their direction. At the same time he went over and joined the crowd, who, however, did not get possession of the bag, which was intercepted by Constable Cogan. The crowd

then gathered round the police, and raised their sticks, and their demeanour for the time being was very threatening."—*Dublin Daily Express*, December 2.

On the following day (January 9) the same brutal terrorism was applied. On this occasion the postman was accompanied on his delivery by an armed escort increased to **twenty-five policemen**!

When the postman and his guard had gone some 300 or 400 yards a mob of several hundred persons began "to boo, groan, cheer, blow horns, and brandish their sticks."

The unfortunate official "got into a state of collapse, fright, and terror." The police had to return with him, and His Majesty's mails were not delivered.

The jury found the prisoners guilty of unlawful assembly and of preventing the delivery of the mails.

A third case was heard on the following day. The intimidating acts were similar to the previous cases. No evidence was called for the defence, but the **jury were unable to agree**.

What have the Postmen's Federation to say to this intimidation of their Irish colleagues? And what would British Liberals say if they were not able to get their morning's letters owing to mob rule prevailing in the country?

A Boycotted Police.

The *Dublin Daily Express* (December 1) reports that on Sunday, November 29:—

"A large body of constabulary, which had been drafted into Holycross during the recent rioting there, entered the local Roman Catholic Church for the purpose of attending Divine service.

"Immediately the entire congregation rose from their seats, and there was general commotion in the sacred edifice.

"The moment the police were seated the majority of the people present left the building.

"A woman confronted the police within the precincts of the church and endeavoured to beat them back by striking them with her fists."

Priest Condemns United Irish League.

The following communication from the Birr correspondent of the *Dublin Daily Express* appears in that paper of December 9:—

"The Rev. P. Gilesnan, the parish priest of Eglish, made a lengthy reference to the agitation of the United Irish League at last Mass on Sunday. He said the conduct of some so-called patriots in the townland of Dowras was of the most disgraceful kind, and it behoved every respectable member of the community to put an end to it. He was utterly ashamed of the conduct of some of his parishioners, and it was deplorable that a few men by such despicable behaviour would blacken a whole parish. The action of certain people in boycotting their neighbours was unChristianlike; it was unCatholic and unIrish, and the people of the district should stamp it out."

Is this Loyalty ?

The following announcement from the *Wicklow People* (November 21) is an example of many similar notices that have appeared in the local Nationalist papers. The reference is to the three men who were executed for the murder of Sergeant Brett :—

IN MEMORIAM.



THE MANCHESTER MARTYRS.

Pray for the Souls of

WILLIAM ALLEN, MICHAEL
LARKIN, AND MICHAEL
O'BRIEN,

Whose lives were sacrificed for
Ireland, on the scaffold at Salford,
near Manchester, November 23,
1867.

R.I.P.

For Ireland's rights they often
sighed;

Their sighing was in vain,
And for their country's cause they
died,

Or, rather they were slain.

So long as this feeling animates Irish Nationalists, how shall it be maintained, as does Mr. Winston Churchill, that Irish Home Rule would make the Empire stronger.

Terrible Cruelty to Cattle.

In the House of Commons (December 10):—

Sir FREDERICK BANBURY asked the Chief Secretary whether it had been reported to him that four bullocks driven off the farm of Carrowmore, in the Geevagh district, Co. Sligo, on the night of November 11, were found next day sunk in a bog hole; that two of the animals were completely blinded in both eyes, apparently by the blows of sticks, that one was blinded in one eye, and the fourth was badly injured in the hind leg, and that all had to be destroyed.

Mr. BIRRELL: I have already stated, in reply to a question asked by the hon. member on the 26th ult., that these four bullocks were driven off the farm in question on November 11 and found in a bog hole. **When found two of them were completely and one partially blinded, apparently by blows of sticks.** The four were sold for £16. The ladies who own the farm have been partially boycotted, and various persons have been deterred from taking grazing from them. Cattle have repeatedly been found trespassing on their lands, which are unfenced, and civil proceedings were recently taken against some of the owners. **No criminal proceedings have been instituted,** as the police have not yet been able to obtain the necessary evidence.

Sir F. BANBURY: Why did not the right hon. gentleman give me the information when I asked for it on November 26? Will he, without any regard to the question of cattle-driving, take steps to prevent such gross cruelty to animals being committed?

Mr. BIRRELL: I gave all the information I had at the time. As for taking steps against this atrocious cruelty, if the hon. baronet can give me any information as to the persons who committed it he may rely on steps being taken at once.

The Irish-Liberal Alliance.

We are informed Mr. John Redmond has received a great many invitations to address further Liberal meetings in England. Among those which reached him are pressing requests from Sunderland, Leeds, Hull, Rugby, Ramsgate, Buckinghamshire, Middlesbrough, Kennington, &c. Mr. Redmond will not, however, address any meeting in England before the re-assembling of Parliament, and it is expected that his first appearance then will be on a Labour platform with Mr. Arthur Henderson, the Chairman of the Labour party. Mr. John Dillon will address a meeting at Rugby about the same time. During the months of January and February several meetings will be addressed by other members of the party. The demand for Irish members to address meetings under the auspices of the Liberal organisations becomes more numerous and more urgent every day.

We see the Nationalists' point of view in putting themselves to all this trouble; they are preaching the doctrines of Separation to the people of the United Kingdom. But, for the life of us, we cannot understand what the Liberal party hopes to get out of it all. Perhaps, when Mr. Patrick Ford, with his "dynamite and lyddite," gets to work, we shall be better informed.

"DEAR, DIRTY DUBLIN,"

Wanted, a Public Health Department.



"I have so often called attention to the main source of the crime, intemperance, and disease in our midst, and with such barren results, that I regard any effort to arouse the public conscience to the terrible condition of the working poor, and the squalid and loathsome slums in which they are housed, as hopeless. The toiling masses of our city will, I fear, be left to rot in their sunless lairs until the growth of crime and the scourge of pestilence compel the attention which the call of humanity has failed to secure."—The Hon. the Recorder addressing the Grand Jury, Green Street, Nov. 17. 1908.—

From *The Lepracaun* Dec., 1908.

Both Sides of the Question.

MR. J. P. FARRELL'S QUESTION.

To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on the night of Thursday, November 12, about 9 p.m., an attack was made by a number of policemen armed with blackthorn sticks and batons upon the members of the Clonguish Band as they were **quietly and peaceably** returning to their band room at Newtownforbes; whether this attack was ordered and headed by a sergeant who is not in charge of the district, but is in charge of a police hut at Curry; **whether the police were drunk** on this occasion, and had been drinking in the public-house of a local magistrate named James McCann; and whether an inquiry on oath will be granted into the whole of the facts attending this attack upon respectable young men. [23rd November, 1908.]

MR. BIRRELL'S REPLY.

The Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary informs me that on the night in question the Clonguish Band, who were returning from Longford, stopped opposite a house in Newtownforbes belonging to Mr. James McCann, who is boycotted, and began to **groan and hiss**. The sergeant in charge of the Curry protection post, who was present on duty with seven constables, ordered the crowd to move on and cease groaning and hissing. While he was giving these directions he and one of the constables were **struck from behind with sticks**. The demeanour of the crowd became **most threatening**, and the sergeant was obliged to order the police to draw their batons and disperse the crowd, which consisted of 35 men. A number of these men returned and resumed the groaning and hissing, when they were again dispersed. There is **no foundation for the statement that the police had been drinking**, and there is nothing in the occurrence calling for an inquiry. [23rd November, 1908.]

We ask our readers carefully to read the question and the reply. Mr. Farrell's question is an excellent example of the way facts are distorted and misrepresented to suit Irish Home Rule views. At a time when Irish Home Rule M.P.'s are appearing on Liberal platforms to preach the gospel of Ireland's grievous suffering, such tortured narratives as Mr. Farrell's will be useful guides in estimating the value of Irish Home Rule statements.

Who Gets the Land?

From the *Clare Champion* (December 5):—

UNITED IRISH LEAGUE.

Kilnaboy Branch.

"... It was also decided to have names of the applicants for Lisduff ranch taken on Sunday next, and to have them sent forward to the Estate Commissioners.

"No names but those of United Irish Leaguers will be sent, not the names of those who came at the eleventh hour and thought to have their fingers in the pie."

A Doubtful Patriot M.P.

From the *Kilkenny People* (December 5) :—

“United Irish League—Galmay Branch: The following resolution was passed unanimously :—

“That since **Mr. Michael Meagher, M.P.**, has failed to prove his claim to any of the Scully ranch, we unreservedly condemn him as a **land-grabber of the lowest type**, and we consider him, therefore, unworthy of Nationalist confidence.”

What has Mr. Meagher, M.P., to say ?

Home Rule Sentiments.

At a public meeting, held under the auspices of the U.I.L., at Dysart, Co. Westmeath, on Sunday, December 6, Mr. Fallon, Young Ireland Branch, U.I.L., Dublin, who “was in attendance at the request of the National Directory,” said in the course of his speech :—

“The word ‘Imperial’ is objectionable to me. What have we got to do with the British Empire ? What are we to the English King, or the English King to us ? What are we to the British Army, or the British Army to us ? Of course, a couple of years ago Irishmen were prosecuted because they advised people against enlisting in the British Army. . . . It is high treason to advocate anti-enlisting in the English Army, but cannot a respectable father and mother say it is not good to have their sons contaminated by the filth and corruption of the British Army ?

“ . . . They would get Home Rule if, when the Land Question is settled and Cattle Driving disappears, they would devise some other equally lawless method of getting what they wanted.”—*Midland Reporter*, December 10.

Won't Pay the Price.

At the annual meeting, on December 8, of the Irish County Councils, General Council, an organisation representing Irish Nationalist County Councils, it was resolved :—

“That this Council protests against the tax for extra police imposed on various counties in Ireland, on the ground that the cost of such extra police should be defrayed out of the Consolidated Fund, and not as at present, as to half said cost, out of the rates.”

Irish Nationalists indulge in cattle-driving, shooting, and other forms of disorder, but protest against paying the price. Even now they have only to pay one-half of the cost of their law-breaking, but that they want to impose upon the unfortunate Imperial taxpayer. If anyone were justified in protesting it should surely be the Imperial taxpayer against paying for another's escapades.

The Last Land Bill.

From the *Kilkenny People*, December 12 :—

“The great and long-promised Land Bill, the latest but not the last of the many ‘final’ settlements of the Land Question, which was introduced with an extraordinary flourish of trumpets by the

beneficent British Government, which received the benediction of Mr. John Redmond, M.P., as did the Act of 1903, and which passed its second reading by an immense majority, has been dropped. For all practical purposes it is as dead as Julius Cæsar. It has served the purpose it was intended for. It is part of the policy of fooling the Irish people, and as the Government have very adroitly given a kind of half promise to 'revive' it next Session—when there may probably be a General Election—it will, or it is hoped that it will, help to keep things quiet in Ireland and to prevent any agitation that might prove embarrassing to the political mountebank who as Chief Secretary rules Ireland."

A meeting of the Irish Nationalist members was held on November 23 at the House of Commons. Mr. J. Redmond presided, and there were 70 members present.

Mr. Gilhooly moved, and Mr. Sheehan seconded, the following resolution:—

"As the proposed Land Bill, explained by the Chairman, appears to be a highly contentious measure, this party requests the Government at the earliest opportunity to adopt similar methods to those used in connection with the English Education Bill, namely, a friendly conference with Irish landlords and others opposed to its provisions, and thereby secure its becoming law at an early date."

Upon a division only one other member (Mr. Crean), making three in all, voted for this resolution, and it was accordingly rejected, 67 members voting against it.

An official view of Mr. Birrell's Land Bill is reported from Mullingar, where Mr. Patrick McKenna spoke on November 24. The speaker is said to have drawn attention to the fact that he attended "as the representative of the National Directory by their request in view of the absence of the Irish party in Westminster." In that capacity, Mr. McKenna referred to the Land Purchase Bill, and said that:—

"He found that in the matter of congestion Mr. Birrell gave more of his attention to the Province of Connaught than Leinster. He (Mr. McKenna) maintained there was as much or more congestion in Leinster than in Connaught, and unless Mr. Birrell was prepared to accept amendments to this proposal he and his Government might accept the consequences. **They would be the means of plunging Ireland into a new land war, and neither coercion nor the jail would prevent the people asserting their rights to those grass lands by united action: adopting the policy of the hazel again.**"—*Irish Times*, November 26.

Mr. Ginnell, M.P., the author of cattle-driving, writes to the *Midland Reporter* (December 3) respecting Mr. Birrell's Land Bill:—

"Our power to amend it, our ability to have it passed in reasonable time next year, and its value when passed, **all depend on the number of hazels in effective condition, and the firmness and frequency with which they are wielded.** Encouragement is no longer necessary for young men who have grasped the situation. The only restraint I desire to impose upon them is greater care in maturing their plans, so as always to be operating in one part of the country while the

police are engaged in a wild-goose chase in another part. When the young men of one district are closely pressed, it is the duty of those of another district to relieve the pressure. We have ranching throttled. If we do not kill it this winter it is our own fault. I am trying to amend the Bill, but it is the young men with their hazels that alone can get the amendments enacted."

In the *Irish Catholic* (November 28) we read the following opinion of Mr. Birrell's Bill:—

"We have Mr. Birrell flinging on the floor of the House of Commons **a thing of shreds and patches**, snips and snaps filched from every fabric of folly woven by every crank who would fain doom our people to a perpetuity of political and social strife. As we have already said, the Chief Secretary's Bill has its good points, but its good do not suffice to counterbalance its bad ones, and on the whole we cannot see that Ireland would have any reason to complain if the result of another General Election gave Mr. Wyndham an opportunity in responsible office of amplifying the great measure so honourably associated with his name, which men of lesser statesmanship are endeavouring to cramp and cripple."

At a meeting of the Drogheda Branch of the United Irish League, the Rev. Peter Kelly, a County Councillor, in the course of an address on the new Irish Land Bill, said:—

"Though Mr. Birrell's eloquent tongue dropped manna in his introductory speech, still he was convinced that the measure was **absolutely false and hollow**, and should not be called an Amending Land Purchase Bill, but an Ending Land Purchase Bill."—*Irish Times*, December 5.

From the *Freeman's Journal* (December 9) on the Land Bill:—

"It deserves welcome and acceptance. Mr. Birrell is evidently determined to persevere with his task, and now is the time to 'give Mr. Birrell a chance.'"

The Land for the People.

From *The Outlook* (November 28):—

"The cry of the land for the people as a justification for breaking up the only system of farming in Ireland which really pays its way is utter folly. The people of the West must entirely alter their habits, and undergo a long course of technical instruction, before there could be the least hope of success in a system of mixed farming on small holdings. On this point the Vice-President of the Irish Department of Agriculture has given convincing evidence. Speaking in Dublin on Tuesday last, Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., referring to the small holdings already created, said:—

"In large numbers of cases the new occupiers had neither the capital nor the knowledge required for the cultivation of such a holding, and what frequently happened was that a small part was tilled and the greater part let to graziers. . . Surely nobody ever intended that they were to abolish ranches in order to establish small grazing-farms."

"There can be no higher authority on such a subject than Mr. Russell, and he cannot be accused of any undue partiality to landlords, or of any prejudice against tenants."

What Ireland Gains from the Union.

On November 30, Mr. A. W. Samuels, K.C., the out-going President, gave an interesting and valuable address before the Statistical Society of Ireland on the External Trade of Ireland. In the course of his address he pointed out that the commerce of Ireland was threefold:—

- (1) Direct to foreign countries ;
- (2) Indirect to foreign countries, through Great Britain ;
- (3) Local, between Great Britain and Ireland.

The following were the figures:—

		Imports.		Exports.		Total.
		£		£		£
1904	.. ..	53,185,523	..	49,398,536	..	102,584,059
1905	.. ..	54,793,183	..	51,174,318	..	105,967,501
1906	.. ..	56,365,299	..	55,598,597	..	111,963,896

Increases.

1905 over 1904	.. ..	£3,383,442
1906 over 1905	.. ..	£5,996,395
1906 over 1904	.. ..	£9,379,837

The figures showed an immense increase within three years. The increase had been both in imports and exports, but the increase of exports had been considerably greater than in imports. Excluding the value of foreign and colonial goods re-exported from the United Kingdom, and leaving out of exports the value of ships, **the trade of Ireland with Great Britain equalled the trade of the United Kingdom with the vast Dominion of our Indian Empire ; that it exceeded by probably £9,000,000 our trade with France ; by £11,000,000 our trade with our Colonies in Australian seas ; by £13,000,000 our trade with Germany ; by £35,000,000 our trade with Holland ; by £43,000,000 our trade with Belgium ; by £40,000,000 our trade with British North America ; and it exceeded by over £60,000,000 our trade with the Cape of Good Hope and Natal.** These results were startling ; and whatever the actual economic gain in wealth might be to the inhabitants of Ireland from the amount of their external trade, the returns seemed to him to go far to prove the great inherent capabilities of this Island. They who lived in and knew it knew that it was not half developed. Events and policy had told hard against her industries and agriculture ; while the rapidity and great cheapness of sea carriage, and vast expansion and enormous and increasing capacity of ocean steamers, had almost annihilated the natural advantage she possessed of proximity to the great British market ; and yet her trade in 1906, with an area of 31,759 miles, and a population of 4,380,000, was as valuable to Great Britain as the trade of the vast Dominion of British India, with its area of 1,767,000 square miles, and its population of 294,361,000.

With regard to the poultry and egg industry, the value of the export trade in that branch was increasing rapidly, as the following figures showed:—

		Poultry.		Eggs.		Feathers.
1904	.. ..	£645,358	..	£2,205,526	..	£36,888
1905	.. ..	696,923	..	2,515,611	..	53,988
1906	.. ..	725,441	..	2,727,410	..	59,064

An increase of over £80,000 in the value of poultry exports, of over £22,000 in that of feathers, and of nearly £522,000 in that of eggs in two

years' time was not a bad testimony to the work and efforts of the Department of Agriculture and Industries and the Agricultural Organisation Society, to whose constant efforts much of the improvement in the breeding of fowl, and grading and preparing of eggs for export was due. Another most important Irish export was butter, and the continuous increase in its value and quantity was another proof of the practical value of the work of the Agricultural Organisation Society in the establishment of creameries and improvement of methods of exportation and of the educational work of the Department of Agriculture. The exports were as follows:—1904, quantity, 687,100 cwts.; value, £3,195,015; 1905, 685,238 cwts.—£3,357,666; 1906, 715,344 cwts.—£3,576,720.

But that Ireland had a great and most important and increasing external trade there could be no doubt whatever, and it was a fact that should encourage Irishmen, too often prone to pessimism, to bethink them not of the ruined markets of 150 years ago, but of the opening markets of to-day, and of the years to come—not to be looking on their country as an impoverished island amid a barren waste of waters, but as one of the most fertile and well-placed spots upon the globe, with a future before it worth winning, and which would be won if they equipped themselves like men with energy and effort and unity, and helped on the work of her moral and material advancement.—*Belfast News Letter*, [December 1.

Irish Pension Statistics.

From *The Outlook* (December 4):—

"Ireland has always contributed more than its due share to the humours as well as the worries of Parliamentary proceedings; but it eclipsed itself on Monday night, when Mr. Lloyd George made a statement as to the claims so far made for old age pensions in different parts of the Kingdom. Whilst in England only 367,197 persons out of 898,000 over 70 years of age have claimed pensions, in Wales 23,968 out of 59,000, and in Scotland 68,785 out of 134,000, it appears that in Ireland no fewer than 193,138 persons have put in claims although there are only 184,000 persons known to be living over 70 years of age. The percentage of the persons claiming old age pensions to the population over 70 years of age, after deducting those in receipt of Poor Law relief, is therefore, remarked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the great amusement of the House, on the basis of the figures quoted: In England, 54 per cent.; in Wales, 56 per cent.; in Scotland, 60 per cent.; and in Ireland, 128 per cent. It would be interesting to learn how many of these Irish claims are admitted by the pension authorities, largely composed as they are of men with pronounced Nationalist sympathies.

LIFE IN IRELAND.

A Diary of Outrages, etc., under Radical Rule.

"He admitted that the condition of certain counties in the West of Ireland was bad. Indeed, he believed it was worse than at any time during which the present Government had been in office."—Lord Denman, House of Lords, October 21.

"He fully admitted that in certain districts in Ireland a condition of very considerable gravity prevailed, and that that condition was less favourable than it had been during the last two years."—Lord Crewe, House of Lords, October 21.

November 7—Co. Clare.—A large cattle-drive took place on the lands of Ballymaguane and Caherbanna. Both lands have been guarded for some time by the police, but the drivers managed to effect the drive without their knowledge.—*Clare Champion*, Nov. 14.

November 8—Co. Clare.—An extensive grazing farm at Aughwanawn in the possession of a Mr. J. Corbett was cleared of cattle, the animals being scattered over the surrounding country.—*Clare Champion*, Nov. 14.

November 14—Co. Sligo.—The farm of a Mr. P. McLoughrey, of Cloghogue, was visited early in the morning, when 60 head of cattle were driven off.

The farm of a Mr. H. McGuire, of Ballintogher, and that of a Mr. R. Gorman, were raided and 100 bullocks and 150 sheep were driven off.

The police had to search for the stock all day, and were groaned and hooted as they passed along.—*Roscommon Herald*, Nov. 21.

November 16—Co. Clare.—The *Dublin Daily Express* reports that during the past 10 days a number of agrarian outrages have been perpetrated in the Kilmehill and Kilmurray McMahon parishes. A Mr. P. Lillis had his stable visited, and the tail of his mare cut off to the bone.

The house of a farmer named Fitzgerald was attacked, and the windows smashed.

A notice was pasted on the door of a farmer's house named Hickey, residing in Benvaran, threatening the family with the most atrocious penalties, if their friendship with a local family now rigorously boycotted did not cease. The letter was signed "Captain Moonlight."

Between 30 and 40 tons of hay belonging to a farmer named Marcus Keave was destroyed by fire.

Some hay, the property of a farmer named Collins, was also burnt.

A Mr. J. Crotty had a house outside his farm which contained some fowls burnt to the ground. His offence, it is stated, lies in the fact of his speaking to an "obnoxious person."

November 21—Co. Clare.—At Kilrush two men were charged with firing at a farmer named J. Halpin at Drumdigan with felonious intent, and with appearing with firearms to the terror of His Majesty's subjects. They were committed for trial.—*Limerick Leader*, Nov. 23.

November 23—Co. Tipperary.—Eight men were arrested in the locality of Holycross and conveyed to Cashell, where they were charged with "unlawfully assembling on November 17 on the lands of Mr. Clarke at Graiguenoe Park." They were remanded for the Assizes, bail being refused. When the decision was known to a large crowd which had collected outside the Court-house, they became very excited, and fired a fusillade of stones at the police. Batons were drawn and the mob charged. Several persons and some of the police were injured. A number of the police were ordered to get their rifles and ammunition, but the rioting was quelled before they appeared on the streets to take up a position. The crowd then returned to Thurles, where they paraded the streets with a band, attacked the police barracks, and broke several of the windows.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Nov. 24.

This district is in a very disturbed state, and a large force of police has been drafted into the locality.

November 24—Co. Limerick.—A farm belonging to a Mr. E. O'Brien, Cappykennedy, was cleared of cattle, and it is believed that the drive was intended as a protest against his holding some adjoining lands on the 11 months' system.

The following evening, a large number of cattle belonging to Lord Gough were driven off his lands at Kilkilla.—*Clare Champion*, Nov. 28.

November 26—Co. Meath.—Nine stacks of hay, the property of a Mr. M'Namee, were totally destroyed by fire. The burning has caused considerable indignation throughout the district, as the owner is a most popular man.—*Leinster Leader*, Nov. 28.

November 27—Co. Roscommon.—A rather serious conflict took place between the police and people at Ballyfaran. For some time past there has been a dispute between a Mr. Bournes at Ballygar on the Castle-french Estate and the tenants adjoining a large grazing farm, and the cattle have been driven off again and again, only to be put back under a strong guard of police.

On the date in question, a crowd of about 400 assembled, and started to clear the lands. About 60 police appeared on the scene, and as the drivers refused to desist, the police drew their batons and charged them. The crowd retaliated with sticks and stones, but eventually the police gained the upper hand, and drove the crowd back.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Nov. 30.

November 26—King's County.—During the night, the police barracks at Shehevrie was attacked, and the windows broken.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Nov. 27.

November 26—Co. Kilkenny.—Twelve men were summoned before the Kilmanagh Petty Sessions for riotous behaviour on the occasion of the distribution of the Scully Farm on November 10. The Bench adjourned the cases for six months to see whether the people who had possession of the lands would be interfered with.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Nov. 27.

November 28—Co. Galway.—An attack was made on two constables at Gurteen, near Athenry. It appears that the policemen encountered a party of 12 men who were acting in a boisterous manner, and on being spoken to they surrounded the patrol, and endeavoured to wrench their rifles from them. Seeing this, the policemen discharged the contents of their weapons amongst the crowd, but before they had time to re-load they were overpowered. The police, however, managed to draw their revolvers, which caused the crowd to fall back. Two of the men were arrested, one of them being the Secretary of the local branch of the United Irish League. The prisoners were brought before a magistrate next day and remanded to Galway Gaol, bail being refused.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 1.

November 28—Co. Clare.—An extraordinary shooting outrage occurred at a place called Caherbullane. A wedding party returning from Ennis was fired at, but, fortunately, no one was injured. A few nights previously some friends of the bridegroom were driving to the bride's house to complete the marriage negotiations, when they were stopped by a barrier of stones, which had been built across the road, and over which the horses fell in the dark. As the parties got off the cars, several shots were fired at them, two of the party being wounded.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 1.

November 29—Co. Tipperary.—A large party of constabulary, which had been drafted into Holycross during the recent disturbances (see *IRISH FACTS*, November 23), attended the local Catholic Church for the purpose of being present at Mass. Immediately they entered the building, almost the entire congregation rose to their feet and left the Church.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 1.

November 29—Co. Sligo.—Early in the morning, about 40 sheep were driven off the lands of Newton Hall, owned by Colonel Duke, and now held by Mr. R. Duke on the 11 months' system.

On the same night another farm, belonging to the same owner, was cleared of 27 cattle and sheep.—*Roscommon Herald*, Dec. 5.

November 29—Co. Clare.—About twenty head of cattle, the property of a Mr. O'Brien, were driven off his lands at Ballyline. The cattle were afterwards recovered on the highway towards Corofin.—*Clare Champion*, Dec. 5.

November 30—Co. Clare.—A daring shooting outrage occurred near Corofin, where a herdsman was driving some cattle to water. Four shots were fired at a distance of about forty yards, and the man was wounded in the eye. This same man was attacked about twelve months ago while returning with some cattle from a fair, and badly beaten.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 1.

November 30—Queen's Co.—At Rathdowney Petty Sessions twenty-two men were charged with "having at Rathsaran, on June 9 last, been members of a disorderly crowd and for driving cattle and sheep off the lands of one Joseph Stanley." The cases were dismissed. All the defendants were members of the United Irish League.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Dec. 1.

December 1—Co. Meath.—A large farm near Kilmainhamwood Railway Station was cleared of 120 head of cattle, 25 horses, and 40 sheep, which were scattered over a radius of two miles.—*Drogheda Independent*, Dec. 5.

December 1—Co. Clare.—Twenty head of cattle, the property of a Mr. D. O'Loughlin, were driven off his farm at Ballybreen.—*Clare Champion*, Dec. 5.

December 1—Queen's Co.—At the Leinster Winter Assizes, held at Dublin, two men were charged with "unlawful assembly at Rathdowney." It appears that on June 20 seven prisoners who had been convicted of cattle-driving were being conveyed to the local police barracks, when a crowd of about 1,000 people assembled, of whom it was alleged defendants were the ringleaders, and offered a threatening attitude, which resulted in a collision between the police and the people, in the course of which the constables had to use bayonets and batons. The prisoners were arrested, and the mob tried to rescue them, which was only prevented by the arrival of additional police. The jury returned a verdict of "Not guilty," and the defendants were discharged.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 3.

December 1—Co. Sligo.—At the Connaught Winter Assizes, held at Limerick, seven men were indicted for unlawful assembly and riot at the village of Geeva, on Jan. 8. It appears that on that date a postman was delivering letters, protected by seven policemen, when they were met by a disorderly crowd of about 200 persons, of whom the defendants were alleged to be the ringleaders, armed with sticks, and by their demeanour prevented the delivery of the mails. The jury could not agree, and the prisoners were put back.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 2.

December 2.—At the resumed Assizes, 10 men were charged with the same offence, committed at the same place on Jan. 9, when, by their alleged leadership, a similar crowd prevented the delivery of the mails. The jury disagreed as to unlawful assembly.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 3.

December 3.—At the resumed Assizes, nine men were charged with a similar offence, committed at the same place on Jan. 8, when the defendants, who were the alleged leaders of a crowd, prevented the delivery of the mails. The jury disagreed, and the defendants were put back.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 4.

December 2—Co. Tipperary.—In connection with the Holycross disturbances (see IRISH FACTS, Nov. 23), eight men were tried at the Munster Winter Assizes, held at Cork, for unlawful assembly with other persons and with injuring and damaging the dwelling house of Charles Neville Clarke, of Graigueenoe Park, also with assaulting Daniel O'Brien, a police constable, on Nov. 17. The jury returned a verdict of "Guilty," and the defendants were bound over to come up for judgment when called upon.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 3.

As a sequel to the above disturbances, 11 men were charged, and pleaded guilty to riot at Cashel. The defendants expressed their regret for what they had done, and the Judge allowed them to enter into their own recognisances for twelve months.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 4.

December 3—Co. Limerick.—At the resumed Connaught Assizes, a man named Cornelius Hannon was charged with assaulting Alderman Michael Joyce, M.P., with intent to do bodily harm, at Newcastle West, on Sept. 6. On that date a public meeting was being held, and when the plaintiff attempted to ascend the platform he was knocked down, it was alleged by the prisoner, who kicked him and struck him with a stick on the head. The jury found prisoner "Not guilty," and he was discharged.

Another man, named Morris Connors, was also charged with a similar assault on the plaintiff, at the same place and time, but the jury were unable to agree.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 5.

December 2—King's Co.—At the Thomastown Petty Sessions two men were charged with "using threatening and intimidatory language towards Michael Murray, caretaker of Dowras Farm." They were bound over to keep the peace.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 3.

December 3—Co. Galway.—At the resumed Assizes Thomas Murray and Martin Finnerty (the latter being the local secretary of the U.I.L.) were found guilty of "unlawful assembly, riot, and wounding" (see IRISH FACTS, Nov. 28). Both were sentenced to 14 months' imprisonment, and to give bail for another three months.

December 3—Co. Clare.—At the same Assizes Patrick Hennessey and James O'Leary were found guilty of an offence under the Whiteboy Acts, at Kinlea, on Nov. 18. It appears that Mr. Halpin, who was employed by Mr. Griffin, a large farmer in the district (who had previously been fired at and wounded in the head and was under police protection), had incurred enmity to a section of the people in the locality. The defendants came outside Halpin's door, Hennessey being armed with a revolver, from which he fired at Halpin. The Judge sentenced Hennessey to six months and O'Leary to three months imprisonment with hard labour.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Dec. 11.

December 3—Co. Fermanagh.—At the Ulster Winter Assizes, Belfast, four men were charged with "having conspired to injure and molest Thomas Gilroy, James Gilroy, and Patrick Murphy, in the months of July, August, and October." Two were sentenced to six months and two to four months imprisonment with hard labour.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 3.

During the proceedings of the trial it came out in evidence that the following notice was nailed to a tree and found by James Gilroy:—

"NOTICE.

"Any person found speaking or giving employment to Thomas or James M'Ilroy, the informer, also P. Murphy, landgrabber, will be visited by Capt. Moonlight and his men."

December 4—Co. Tipperary.—At the Munster Winter Assizes, held at Cork, J. Hennessey was charged in connection with the Templemore explosion (see IRISH FACTS, Oct. 18 and 29). The case was adjourned for the next Assizes, owing to one of the principal witnesses being too ill to attend.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 5.

December 4—Queen's Co.—At the resumed Leinster Assizes, held at Dublin, a man named R. Carter was indicted for assaulting a man named J. Kearns. It came out in the evidence that the injured man was employed by a Mr. A. Foote, who had been boycotted for some time because he would not become a member of the U.I.L. The jury returned a verdict of "Not guilty."—*Irish Times*, Dec. 5.

December 5—Co. Tipperary.—Further arrests were made at Clonmel in connection with the Holycross riots (see IRISH FACTS, Nov. 23), when two men were taken into custody and charged before a magistrate with disorderly conduct. They were bound over to keep the peace.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 7.

December 6—Co. Galway.—About 20 tons of hay, the property of Bartley Deeley, Clonmolly, was maliciously burnt. A claim for compensation has been made.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Dec. 7.

December 7—Co. Roscommon.—A large posse of police visited the houses of 20 persons in connection with a recent cattle-drive on the Castlefrench property, and arrested a number of people, who were conveyed to Ballinasloe; arrests were also made in the Ballinamore district. The entire party were brought before a magistrate and remanded on bail. On their release they were met by a crowd, accompanied by bands, who cheered wildly and shouted "Down with the graziers!"—*Irish Times*, Dec. 10.

December 8—Co. Galway.—A man named Byrne, belonging to the Ballyhane Dairy, while on his way home from Galway at night was attacked by three men, who were disguised, near a place called Renmore, knocked down, and his pockets rifled. When he resisted, he was stabbed with a knife, and received an ugly wound in the chest. The amount taken from him is stated to have been £21. The matter was reported to the police, and four men have been arrested.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 10.

December 9—Co. Clare.—The following cases were brought forward at the resumed Connaught Assizes:—

Two men, named T. Bourke and P. Tierney, were charged with having on Nov. 14 "unlawfully used and borne arms in a disturbed district." During the hearing of the case the County Inspector gave a list of outrages that had taken place in the locality, and stated that there had been upwards of 100 cattle-drives. The jury failed to agree, and the defendants were put back.

A man named J. Carmody was indicted for "carrying firearms on Oct. 12 in a disturbed district, and for maliciously damaging a dwelling house." He was found guilty, and put back for sentence.

Co. Roscommon.—Twelve men were charged with cattle-driving and unlawful assembly at Ballyvaughanmore, on Aug. 30. The jury found the prisoners guilty and they were put back.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Dec. 10.

December 9—Co. Roscommon.—Eleven men and women from Mucklon and Castlefrench were arrested by the police for taking part in the recent cattle-drive on the Castlefrench Estate (see IRISH FACTS, Nov. 27). They were brought before a magistrate at Ballinasloe, and

bound over to keep the peace. This farm has been repeatedly driven, and as a result hundreds of men and women are under bail.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Dec. 10.

December 11—Co. Roscommon.—Mr. Dignan, Sub-Sheriff, accompanied by 50 police, visited the estate of Mr. Potts, at Moore, for the purpose of making seizures for rent due. The tenants got to know of the intended visit, and put every opposition in the way. Trees were felled and placed across the main road to the houses. When the party arrived they were met by a crowd of about 300 persons, who yelled and groaned at them, also throwing stones and mud at the police, one constable being seriously injured.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Dec. 14.

December 12—Co. Clare.—A determined attack by moonlighters was made on the house of a farmer named Donal Minogue. About 8 p.m. several shots were fired through a window into the kitchen in which there were at the time three or four children, and a boy servant. None of them were, however, injured. Simultaneously another volley of shots was fired through the window of a bed room in which Minogue and his other children were. None of them were struck, but they had some narrow escapes. Several stones were flung through the window in which Minogue's mother was sleeping. The outrage is attributed to local feeling over a land dispute.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Dec. 16.

December 13—Co. Meath.—At a largely attended United Irish League meeting, held at Dunleeth, the following resolution was adopted:—"That, while we approve of hunting in the County Meath, and desire not to be compelled to oppose it, we wish to call the attention of the Meath hunting masters to the fact that some notoriously offensive parties join in the hunt, and unless they are stopped we will be obliged reluctantly to stop hunting. We are prepared to furnish the names of objectionable parties to the masters of the hunt if necessary." Mr. David Sheehy, M.P., was present, and addressed the meeting.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Dec. 14.

December 14—Co. Roscommon.—Two men were charged at Boyle with intimidating J. Connor and P. Connor on Dec. 6. Both defendants were bound over to keep the peace for 12 months, or in default two months imprisonment.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 14.

IRISH POLITICS IN 1908.

By Philip G. Cambray.

The disorder, gloom and uncertainty with which the year 1908 opened intensified as the months passed; and at the close of the year no progress towards peace and prosperity can be recorded.

Mr. Birrell unfortunately still continues to hold the office of Chief Secretary. There have been changes among the permanent officials, Sir Antony MacDonnell, who could the least be spared, resigning his appointment as Under-Secretary.

"Home Rule" again.

Desperate attempts have been made by the Irish Nationalists to revive the Home Rule question, and their endeavours have received assistance from the more advanced occupants of the Treasury bench.

Early in the Session a debate on Irish finance was raised as a preliminary skirmish to the introduction of a Home Rule motion by Mr. Redmond. The latter discussion took place on March 30, and the resolution approving Home Rule was carried by 313 to 157, after an amendment insisting on the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament had been added. The Prime Minister refused to support the motion without the above reservation, which was somewhat ungraciously acceded to by Mr. Redmond.

So profound was the dissatisfaction occasioned by the Prime Minister's speech on this occasion, that Mr. Redmond took the early opportunity afforded by a contest in N.W. Manchester, where Mr. Churchill was seeking re-election on his promotion to the Cabinet, to refuse his mandate to the Home Rule electors in that constituency to support the Government candidate. Events moved rapidly, and a few days later Mr. Churchill declared "with the full concurrence and approval of the Prime Minister, that at the end of the present Parliament, the Liberal party should claim full authority and a free hand to deal with the problem of Irish self-government, without being restricted to some measure of administration and devolution of the character of the Irish Council Bill."

This declaration secured the telegraphic order to the Irish vote to support Mr. Churchill, as Mr. Redmond interpreted the words to mean that "on the authority of the Prime Minister Home Rule in the sense of his resolution would be put before the electors at the General Election." Since that day endeavours have been made to elicit from Mr. Asquith an acceptance or rejection of the pledge made in his name. Success has not attended these efforts, as the Prime Minister has always referred enquirers to his speech on Mr. Redmond's motion for his view of the subject.

A later declaration in the same sense, in which Mr. Churchill again appeared as the authoritative exponent of the Cabinet policy, roused further interest as to the Prime Minister's position, but questions addressed to him produced no definite reply.

Unionists aroused.

If the policy of the Prime Minister was nebulous, the views of individual members of the Cabinet, and of certain of the back bench Radicals, were entirely free from obscurity.

A definite step has been taken by certain Radical M.P.'s, who have invited Mr. Redmond to expound his gospel of Home Rule from Radical platforms, and have supported him by their presence and speech.

This new "union of hearts" aroused Unionists to activity. At the annual Conferences of both wings of the Unionist party, declarations against Home Rule have been re-affirmed, and the determination again expressed to defeat the pernicious policy. Unionist leaders have devoted their speeches to it, and an educational campaign has been instituted by the **Unionist Associations of Ireland** and the **Union Defence League**.

Imperial Home Rule.

A new organisation has arisen in Dublin. Its programme is Imperial Home Rule, and it comprises devolution on an Imperial scale, with, however, immediate action as regards Ireland. It does not differ materially in its objects from those many Associations which periodically come into being, and sink into oblivion after an attempt to initiate a successful campaign for Home Rule in disguise. Its only novelty is that it has so far preserved the anonymity of its founders and supporters. Unionists have not been misled, and their leaders have spoken against this latest attempt to undermine the Union.

Domestic Relations.

The spirit of tranquillity has been conspicuously absent from the domestic relations of the Irish Parliamentary party. Attacked by Mr. W. O'Brien, who is in the party, but not of it; denounced by the Sinn Feiners as shams and humbugs; compromised by the circumstances surrounding the birth and premature decease of the Irish Council Bill, and suspected of an understanding with the Government which has weakened opposition; grave discontent and complaint with the Irish Parliamentary party manifested itself in dwindling subscriptions, and in resignations of honorary officials.

As a fighting force, the party is passing through a period of decadence. Some new leader may arise; or the present leaders may make a strenuous effort to regain their former pre-eminence. The latter would seem to be likely. Mr. Redmond's campaign in Great Britain, and his visit to the United States, point in that direction. Financial reasons were, however, a factor in the American pilgrimage.

New Irish Universities.

Undeterred by previous failure, Mr. Birrell has successfully dealt with the Irish University question. Two new universities are established—one in Dublin, and one in Belfast. With the Dublin University are affiliated the colleges at Cork and Galway. Nominally unsectarian, they are in effect strongly denominational—Dublin, Roman Catholic; Belfast, Presbyterian. Careful regard for the letter of the law, and disregard of its effects, has enabled the Nonconformist supporters of the Government to agree to this State-endowment of denominational education. It was the subject of remark that they were at the same time endeavouring to stamp out a system of denominational education in England and Wales.

Dudley Commission Report.

The Royal Commission on Irish Congestion presided over by Lord Dudley reported during the year. Their recommendations were in many respects traversed by Lord MacDonnell in an able minority report. The Commissioners recommended the enlargement of the area and powers of the Congested Districts Board, and the addition to it of an elective element, representing the county councils; the further development of industries, agricultural education and organisation, and co-operation, the enlargement of small holdings, coupled with an extensive system of migration, and compulsory powers of purchase.

Irish Land Purchase.

Questions arising in connection with Irish Land Purchase have been discussed in both Houses, and the financial problem was referred to a Treasury Committee, presided over by Mr. Runciman. The success attending the Act of 1903 resulted in a block in the Estates Commissioners' office. Some £25,000,000 of land has been sold, and agreements have been signed in respect of £52,000,000 more. The difficulty of raising this money was accentuated by the low price of Irish Land Stock. Every £100 of cash raised involved issuing £112-worth of stock. The interest on this "excess" stock would ultimately have fallen on the Irish rate-payers, and burdened them with charges which they could not, and were never intended to bear.

Irish Land Bill.

The two questions of congestion and finance have been dealt with by Mr. Birrell in the Irish Land Bill. As regards congestion, he has adopted in the main the recommendations of the Dudley Commission. The financial difficulties he proposes to solve by increasing the annuity of future purchasers, and making it compulsory for landlords to take a new 3 per cent. Stock at face value in future sales. In the block of signed agreements, representing £52,000,000, the landlord can take his money wholly in stock at 92, partly in stock and cash, or he has the right to take it wholly in cash. In the working off of this block and for future sales, the Estates Commissioners will have annually £5,000,000 stock, and £5,000,000 cash—the latter being subject to a lien amounting to £1,000,000 for compulsory purchase by the Congested Districts Board.

The Bill was read a second time on December 8, but made no further progress. Supported by Mr. Redmond, it was opposed by the Unionists and Mr. W. O'Brien, to whom its provisions seemed calculated to end rather than amend land purchase.

The Condition of Ireland.

The rapid reaction from Unionist peace to Radical disorder has continued. Unionists see with despair and indignation the results of 10 years' work thrown away through the indisposition of the Government to check lawlessness.

Debates took place in both Houses during the year. They were marked by powerful indictment, absence of defence, and refusal to take measures for the protection of the law-abiding. That all was not well was admitted by Government speakers; Lord Denman, for example,

in the House of Lords admitting that as regards certain counties, the condition "was worse than at any time during which the present Government have been in office."

Comparative Statistics.

How terrible has been the set-back is seen from the following official figures :—

{ 1905 (Nov. 30).—Persons Boycotted	.. ..	162
{ 1908 (Nov. 30). " " " "	.. ..	840
{ 1906 (Jan. 31).—Persons under Police Protection	.. ..	208
{ 1908 (Nov. 30). " " " "	.. ..	351
{ 1905.—Firing at Persons	.. ..	2 (Twelve months.)
{ 1908. " " " "	.. ..	40 (Eleven months.)
{ 1905.—Firing into Dwellings	.. ..	9 (Twelve months.)
{ 1908. " " " "	.. ..	81 (Eleven months.)
{ 1905.—Cattle Drives	.. ..	None (Twelve months.)
{ 1908 " " " "	.. ..	635 (Eleven months.)
{ 1905.—Agrarian Outrages	.. ..	279 (Twelve months.)
{ 1908. " " " "	.. ..	537 (Eleven months.)

Widespread Disorder.

So widespread is the disorder that 22 counties out of a total of 32 are now involved. Eight of these counties have been proclaimed as being in such a state of disturbance as to require additional police, and at a cost of £47,000, 750 extra police are quartered on the districts. In 14 other counties there have been disturbances.

Cattle-Driving.

Cattle-driving has continued unabated during the year. Far from being the "comparatively harmless process" Ministers would have the country believe, the beasts have not infrequently been treated with great cruelty, and the spirit of lawlessness has become stronger, so that pitched battles between armed forces of police and cattle-drivers have occurred. In one of these skirmishes an unfortunate driver was shot dead.

Shooting Outrages.

The cowardly and grave crime of shooting increased rapidly during the year. The use of firearms as a means of intimidation and injury is becoming so common as to call for the severest comment from Judges. Condemnation of the practice has been expressed by certain papers. Especially noteworthy is the following quotation from the *Irish Catholic*, the organ of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland :—

"It was nothing short of a piece of astounding folly to repeal the Peace Preservation Act. For months past arms have been pouring into our provincial districts, and in far too many cases into the possession of persons who were quite sufficiently dangerous to public

peace and safety without them. The policy or legislation which rendered possible the creation of such a situation as this is simply immoral."

Yet Mr. Birrell remains strangely inactive, and declines to see any connection between the dropping of the Peace Preservation Act and this increased use of firearms.

The "Ordinary Law."

The Government still affect to believe that they are relying on the "ordinary law." The extensive use they make of an old Act of Edward III. has no claim to be considered the "ordinary law" in the popular sense of the term. Their pretence deceives no one, and is probably only acquiesced in because of its ineffectiveness. Judges have time after time denounced "binding to the peace" as a failure in checking disorder, and urged the necessity of stronger measures if lawlessness is to be checked. To these representations Mr. Birrell has turned a deaf ear, and the law-breakers rejoice.

A Muzzled Press.

Strange to say, the only decisive action has been taken against the liberty of the Press. Certain Irish Nationalist papers have been warned not to continue to insert reports from branches of the United Irish League containing decisions of a boycotting or intimidatory character. Disregard of this advice has involved one editor, a Nationalist M.P., in trouble.

The United Irish League.

Throughout all this record of lawlessness there is seen the demoralising hand of Mr. Redmond's organisation—the United Irish League. The branches have decided who shall be boycotted, who shall be intimidated, whose cattle shall be driven, whose lands divided, and whose claims to the spoil shall be sanctioned. It claims to appoint its nominees on the local bodies, and to order them to accept its selections for posts in the municipal service. Its organisers go about stirring up strife and preaching lawlessness. For these pernicious activities Mr. Redmond cannot deny responsibility. If he has not advocated disorder like his subordinates, he has never publicly denounced their deeds and works, and he has on one occasion at least indicated his power of keeping Ireland peaceful.

The Future.

The future has unknown perils and possibilities of a great land war, perhaps between landlord and tenant, perhaps between the "migrant" and the local man whose land hunger cannot bear a fellow countryman getting what he covets, perhaps between the Government and the tenant-purchasers.

The only consolation is that every day that passes brings the country nearer to the advent of the Unionist Government, whose duty it will be again to bring peace and progress to those districts which Radical policy has allowed to drift into crime and industrial stagnation.

PHILIP G. CAMBRAY.

THE CASE FOR THE IRISH LOYALISTS

AS PUT BY MR. T. W. RUSSELL, M.P., AT GRANGEMOUTH, STIRLINGSHIRE,
MAY 18, 1886.

Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., has now changed his coat, and when in the south or west of Ireland, is a confessed Home Ruler. It is of interest to recall what his opinions were in 1886, and to consider in what particulars the present position differs from that which then existed.

The leaders of the Home Rule party in Ireland are the same; they have in no way altered their demands or their policy. They work by the same methods for the same object. There is the same resort to boycotting and crime to intimidate loyal people. There is the same contempt for law and the rights of property. There is the same failure of the ordinary law to bring criminals to justice. The only difference which exists in the present state of affairs, as compared with that of 1886, is that Irish people have, by the generous legislation of the Unionist party, been placed in a vastly more advantageous position than they were when Mr. Russell spoke in Grangemouth. The change of front is, therefore, Mr. Russell's alone, and Unionists are justified in appealing from the perverted Home Rule Russell of to-day to the Unionist Russell of 1886.

In 1886, Mr. Russell thus sums up the objections to Home Rule:—

"Irish Loyalists object to an Irish Parliament, because they believe that the real end and aim of the Irish National party is the **separation of the two countries**. I am quite aware that this averment is denied by some members of the Irish party at present. Indeed, they have developed and are developing an interest in the British Empire quite overpowering."

Mr. Russell proceeds to quote some well-known pronouncements of present and past Irish leaders, which never have been repudiated, and goes on to say:—

"In other words, separation is the goal towards which every Irish aspiration tends. I am well aware these things are not said now. No. The great British public have to be humbugged and gammoned; therefore, the programme is entirely different."

Apply these words to the speeches of Mr. John Redmond, and there can be no stronger case made on the Unionist side to-day.

On the question of union of hearts, of which we hear so much now-a-days, Mr. Russell quotes a statement made by Mr. T. Sexton, then M.P., but now editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, the leading Nationalist paper in Ireland. In a speech delivered in Dublin in October, 1881, Mr. Sexton said:—

"I will not mince my words, and I declare that the prevailing and unchangeable passion between England and Ireland is the passion of hate."

The second point which Mr. Russell made in his exposition of Unionist objections to Home Rule was that Irish Loyalists object to an Irish Parliament because they believe the civil and religious rights of the minority would be jeopardised and imperilled. In proof of this, he instanced the antagonism of the Nationalist party to the Irish Constabulary. This antagonism is just as strong to-day, as was proved in the House of

Commons when Mr. Birrell proposed to carry out some measures, to which the House is pledged, in relief of acknowledged grievances of the Irish police. The Nationalists blocked the proceedings, and thus for a time deprived the police of a matter of simple justice. We may well ask now, as Mr. Russell did in 1886, what chance would the Royal Irish Constabulary have, whose only crime is their loyalty to the British Nation, if handed over to their bitter enemies under Home Rule?

On the question of League tyranny, and so-called coercion, Mr. Russell's words are full of interest now, as they were in 1886. He said then, as all Unionists say now:—

“People talk of coercion—there never was a more devilish system of coercion devised by man than the tyranny of the National League, worked, as it is, by village publicans and League organisers. And the principle which thus forces a man to join a political organisation against his conscience may force him in the future, under Irish independence, to join a church of which he disapproves. I protest against this system of tyranny.”

The Protestants in the Co. Sligo, who are now boycotted because they refuse to join the United Irish League, may well take these words to heart. Their case is an absolute proof that the spirit which animated the National League in 1886 is precisely the same as that which now pervades the United Irish League.

Mr. Russell goes on to assert:—

“The Church is supreme when the real tug-of-war comes; and, looking at all history, I maintain that the Loyalists are entirely justified in their fears regarding their civil and religious rights under an Irish Parliament, certain to be dominated by the Roman Catholic Church.”

Mr. Russell next declares that Irish Loyalists object to an Irish Parliament, because they believe the just rights of property would be imperilled. In this connection, the speaker referred to the great benefits conferred on Irish tenants by the Land Act of 1881. He mentions the efforts made by the National League to induce tenants not to pay their just debts to landlords, and he says:—

“Over the south and west, ever since Mr. Parnell became the leader of the people, the gospel preached from platform and press has been that rent is ‘legalised theft.’ The appeal to cupidity—at all times a perilous one—was specially perilous in Ireland.”

If these words were true in 1886, as they most undoubtedly were, they are doubly true in these days of cattle-driving by the League and open preaching of repudiation of all State liabilities by the Sinn Féiners.

Mr. Russell makes a strong point of the fact that Irish Unionists maintain that the Union has been, as far as the material interests of the country are concerned, a success. This must be startling to those Liberal audiences Mr. Redmond has been addressing of late in England and Wales. Mr. Russell quotes figures, which amply support his contention, and these figures could be made vastly more striking and conclusive at the present time as the result of the beneficial legislation carried by the Unionist party in Parliament since 1886.

In concluding this remarkable speech, Mr. Russell declared that in addition to the objections to Home Rule already referred to, Irish Loyalists objected under any circumstances to Home Rule, because of the Home Rulers themselves. He refers to the reign of terror inaugu-

rated by the Home Rulers, and to the desperate outrages which resulted, the responsibility for which he throws on the leaders of the people, who are the same now as then. Let us hear what he has to say as regards boycotting in 1886 :—

“Only the other day, Lord Spencer admitted that there were 800 cases of boycotting reported by the police. What does an admission like this mean? It means that there are 800 persons known to the police, who, daring to be honest—or, at least, refusing to bow the knee to the National League—are being treated as lepers, shunned by their neighbours, refused supplies of food, and, generally speaking, ostracised from all society. And all this for no offence.”

Substitute 1908 for 1886, and the name of Mr. Birrell for that of Lord Spencer, and we have exactly a similar condition of affairs existing in Ireland at the present moment, but Mr. Russell no longer pleads the cause of the oppressed in Ireland; his sympathies are now all with the oppressors.

Perhaps the most striking paragraph in this speech, and the one most applicable to the present crisis, is to be found in Mr. Russell's alternative for Home Rule. It is the alternative of the Unionists to-day, as it was then, and these words deserve to be placarded on every platform on which an Irish agitator addresses an English audience, and dwells on the hopelessness of English rule in Ireland.

Here is Mr. Russell's formula :—

“Maintain the Union, be scrupulous to redress every Irish wrong, be even generous in view of the past; but govern the country.”

In view of his present attitude towards the Crimes Act, it is interesting to learn what the Mr. Russell of 1886 thought of what he now calls coercion. He says :—

“I ask what men mean by coercion? I am not in favour of exceptional legislation for Ireland, but I demand that there, as elsewhere, the law should be a terror to evil-doers, a praise and a protection to those who do well. That is all.” . . . “Are Scotchmen aware that the demands of Lord Spencer last year, which Mr. Gladstone called the fair and equitable provisions of the Crimes Act, covered three propositions, every one of which has practically been the law of Scotland for 350 years!”

These are the very provisions which Mr. Birrell now denounces as coercion, and in which denouncement he is joined by the Mr. Russell of 1908.

We cannot better wind up this reference to a remarkable speech than by repeating here the closing words, which in view of the determination now expressed to make Home Rule a vital question at the next General Election, are even more applicable to-day than they were in 1886. Here is the lesson for the electors :—

“And when this great issue comes for decision to the hearth-stones of the people, as come it will, men who have a priceless inheritance bequeathed to them will never consent to do at the ballot box the thing they would scorn to do on the battle-field. **They will put Patriotism before Party. They will save the Empire from the greatest danger it has been called to face since the Spanish Armada hove in sight of the shores of England.**”

IRISH LAND BILL.

Mr. S. H. Butcher's Criticisms.

To *The Times* (December 14) Mr. S. H. Butcher, M.P. (who recently visited Belfast), contributes the following letter on the subject of the Government's Land Bill:—

The new Irish Land Bill contains many startling and far-reaching proposals. I would ask your permission to draw attention to a single question arising out of that part of the Bill which deals with the congested districts. Both from the legislative and the administrative side it is a matter of vital moment. In the hurried debate, however, on the second reading it was never discussed, though you in your leading article of December 9 touched the point with absolute precision. I now desire merely to amplify what you have said and to strengthen your conclusions.

The question is one that concerns the rival claims of the migrants from the congested districts and the landless men in the immediate neighbourhood of the grass lands which are to be redistributed. The Dudley Commission has recommended migration on a colossal scale as the only solution of the baffling problem of congestion. To me indeed the migration of some 20,000 families (at least) under the scheme proposed in that report seems a wild and fantastic experiment. Still, it is the policy which the Government professes to adopt and the Bill is supposed to embody.

On nearer consideration, however, the scheme of the Bill is such as to frustrate the policy of migration. Nothing can be more explicit than the repeated declarations of the Commissioners—and on this point they are unanimous—that the plan of finding land for the landless is incompatible with their proposals for the relief of congestion, as there is not enough land to go round even in the new and enlarged area of the Congested Districts Board, which is to embrace about one-third of all Ireland.

Now, how does the Bill propose to deal with the landless men? First (by Clause 39, 2), it removes the restriction imposed by the Act of 1903 (Clause 75, 1) under which the Congested Districts Board had power to resell land to the sons of small farmers only in cases where the land was not required for existing holders in the districts. Next, outside the congested districts area, the Estates Commissioners, under Clause 14, 1 (e), may advance money for the purchase of parcels of land not only to the sons of farmers, but to "any person" they may think suitable. Under both these clauses the landless men come in with a rush. On the other hand, let us see what are the prospects of the "congests," for whose benefit and relief the Dudley Commission was established. The evidence given before the Commission regarding these intending migrants is highly instructive. From the outset very few "congests" have been willing to migrate. They prefer to live in the old home, no matter how poorly

off they are. They are not tempted to exchange a bad farm for a good one. Those who are paying 50s. a year shrink from the responsibility of paying £15 for a much better farm. They will consent to go to America, but they object to going 10 miles away from home. The great reluctance of the congests to move is attested by the very officials who are the warmest advocates of migration.

But things do not stand now where they did even a few years ago. We have now to do not merely with the immobility of the peasant who clings to his home; a new factor has come into the problem. There has been a growing and angry feeling on the part of the local landless men against the admission of the migrants into their neighbourhood. Menacing speeches have been made by politicians. The local Press has issued its warnings. Branches of the United Irish League have passed their resolutions. The migrants have been denounced beforehand as aliens, grabbers, invaders, imported planters. Mr. Commissioner Finucane (iii. 15,972, &c.), when asked by Lord MacDonnell, "Will tenants migrate?" admits that "selfish local opposition," "narrow parochial feeling," exists, but thinks that it can be overcome by "tact and persuasion," and so forth. However, in the last resort he would put it down by "the aid of the law and the police." Pressed by Sir John Colomb as to whether many of the tenants would migrate to be under police protection, he courageously replies, "Certainly, I think they would," whereupon, after a little more skirmishing, Lord MacDonnell drily remarks, "I who have to work the police look forward with great pleasure to this Arcadia." No wonder, then, if America seems to these poor people a less formidable venture than removing to an adjacent district, or to cross the seas less risky than to cross the border of the parish or the county. In the light of the evidence just quoted a passage in Mr. Birrell's speech on the first reading of the Bill becomes significant: "We cannot do good at the point of the bayonet. We cannot maintain an army of police offering protection to migrants as in the old days they offered protection to landlords and their agents."

The truth is the migrants are to all intents and purposes thrown over. The policy of the Dudley Commission is one thing, the policy of the Bill is different and irreconcilable. Under the Bill a new agrarian war will inevitably be kindled between those who have land and those who have not land. Nor will the warfare be limited to the congested districts. The areas of the conflict will be extended outside the limits of Connaught. The grass lands of Meath and Westmeath are to be broken up, no less than those of Galway and Roscommon. "The land hunger," as Mr. Birrell reminds us in his speech on the first reading, "is universal. Hopes have been excited; land-hungry eyes have been greedily cast on the untenanted land. . ." And he might have added the appetite has been whetted by successful cattle-raids and by the impunity which the administration of the Chief Secretary has assured to the raiders. Early in the cattle-driving campaign Mr. Ginnell, M.P., promised to his associates "an Act of Parliament confirming their blessed work and making it the law of the land." He himself expresses only a modified approval of the present Bill; still he declares that any semblance of good in it is the "result of the hazel policy." The Bill is hailed by other leaders of the cattle-driving industry as furnishing a vindication of their conduct and giving the promised sanction of the Legislature.

Let there be no mistake in the matter. The Bill is almost useless for the relief of congestion. It offers no economic remedy or palliative for the perennial poverty of that Western region. It is a scheme for the political redistribution of land all over Ireland, and the politicians welcome it as such. The landless men have prevailed over the "congests." The claimants for land will be many; the migrants will be few. The words of the Dudley Commission (final report, p. 46) are here worth recalling: "Every holding given to the son of a tenant, or to any other person not at present a landholder, will to that extent perpetuate congestion in the West."

MR. JOHN REDMOND, M.P.,

ON

HOME RULE AND THE EMPIRE.

[We make no apology for recalling to our readers the following authoritative utterances by the Irish Home Rule leader. We hope that the perusal of them will dissipate the idea so industriously spread abroad by Radicals that Home Rule would strengthen the Empire.]

Independence.

Parnellite Convention in Dublin, October 7, 1895.

"The Nationalists of Ireland will never lay down their arms until they have achieved the independence of their country. . . . **The cant about the union of hearts must be given up**; the absolute nonsense about the love of the English democracy for Ireland must be done away with; . . . if we want Home Rule, we must make it inconvenient to England to refuse it."—*Daily Independent*, Oct. 8, 1895.

A "Bag and Baggage" Policy.

At Kanturk, November 17, 1895.

"Ireland for the Irish is our motto, and the consummation of all our hopes and aspirations is, in one word, **to drive English rule, sooner or later, bag and baggage, from our country.**"—*Daily Independent*, Dec. 9, 1895.

At Newry, June 16, 1897.

"I remember when Parnell was asked whether he would, on behalf of the United Nationalist nation that he represented, accept as a final settlement the Home Rule compromise proposed by Gladstone. I remember his answer. He said: 'I believe in the policy of taking from England anything we can wring from her which will strengthen our arms to go on for more. **I will accept the Home Rule compromise of Gladstone as an instalment of our rights,** but I refuse to say that it is a final settlement of the National question, and I declare that no man shall set a boundary on the onward march of the nation.' That is our motto."—*Independent*, June 17, 1897.

Undying Hatred.

At Wexford, November 1, 1898.

"The first and greatest of the duties of an Irishman is **to cherish undying hatred** to foreign rule in this country. . . . To be prepared by every and any means open to brave and honourable men to advance the cause of Irish freedom."

At Maryborough, October 20, 1901.

"My one principle in public life is—in every department of the Government, from the highest to the lowest; from the Chief Secretary in his back room in Dublin Castle to the land grabber and the bailiff in the country town—to make every department of Government in this country difficult and dangerous."—*Freeman's Journal*, Oct. 21, 1901.

The Brave Boers.

Interviewed in the *Boston Globe*, as reported in that paper November 1, 1901.

"Who will undertake to say that the separation of Ireland from England is impossible? Things which have appeared much more impossible have often taken place, and it did not seem more impossible a few years ago that England would be humbled to the dust as she now is by a handful of farmers in South Africa."

At Cork, July 18, 1902.

"You have got every man of you in his sphere to do something, great or small, to make the Government of Ireland by England under the present system, as I have said, **difficult, dangerous, and impossible.**"

—*Freeman's Journal*, July 19, 1902.

Armed Revolt.

At House of Commons, April 12, 1905.

"If he believed that there was the **smallest reasonable chance of success**, he would have no hesitation in advising his fellow countrymen to endeavour to end the present system by **armed revolt.**"—*Times*, April 13, 1905.

At New Ross, June 23, 1907.

"We tell her (Great Britain) frankly that the choice of weapons with which we work will be a mere question of expediency with us, because we believe that we are entitled in this movement to use every weapon which is open to a God-fearing race such as the Irish.

"We tell her that **we to-day hate her rule** just as bitterly as our forefathers did.

"We tell her that we are as much **rebels to her rule to-day** as our forefathers were in '98."—*Freeman's Journal*, June 24, 1907.

Success to the Extremists.

In Dublin, September 1, 1908, Mr. Redmond expressed the desire for the success of the Separatists and Physical Force Party in America and elsewhere. Said Mr. Redmond:—

"If there are men who are more extreme than we are, my prayer for them is **success to all their ideals and all their hopes.**"—*Freeman's Journal*, Sept. 2, 1908.

There **are** men who are "more extreme" than Mr. Redmond at any rate professes to be. "Their ideals" and "their hopes" which Mr. Redmond desires to be successful have been recently disclosed in the *Chicago Citizen* of July 11, 1908:—

"**There is not an Irishman in America to-day** in whose veins good red blood is flowing, **who would not rejoice to hear that a German army was marching in triumph across England from Yarmouth to Milford Haven.**"

Does Mr. Redmond pray for a successful invasion of England?

God Save President Redmond.

Met at Quarantine by a reporter for the *New York Herald*, Mr. Redmond said:—

"What Ireland wants is Home Rule and a Government of [its own, and that is what Ireland is going to have. I hope to see Ireland

placed in the scale of nations **much after the fashion of the United States as to constitution**, but it will, of course, be some time before there is actual independence there."—*Irish Independent*, Sept. 26, 1908.

Mr. Redmond's ideal is Ireland an independent Republic; and Mr. Winston Churchill would have us believe that "if you want to make the British Empire strong, Ireland should be given Home Rule!"—*Swansea*, Aug. 15, 1908.

Mr. Redmond's Guest.

Mr. Redmond, speaking in New York on October 7, 1908, said:—

"... I now give an invitation to visit Ireland. I see in front of me Patrick Ford, a man who for half a century, by his manhood and his great newspaper, the *Irish World*, has given Ireland unstinted support, and sitting back of me here is O'Meagher Condon, who in the day of stress and trial fearlessly gave Ireland her national anthem, 'God save Ireland.' I invite them and others like them (if their like can be found) to visit us and see for themselves what we have been doing, and receive their thanks from the warm hearts of our people."—*Irish World*, Oct. 17, 1908.

Mr. Patrick Ford is the gentleman referred to in the Report of the Special Commission as "**a known advocate of crime and the use of dynamite.**" His views are admirably expressed in an article which appeared over his signature in the *Irish World* in November, 1899, and which was an appeal for funds to help the United Irish League. Mr. Redmond's guest wrote:—

"If any set of Irishmen see their way to successfully attack England by physical force, why, let them go ahead, and God bless them. If there is any dynamite or lyddite that will blow the British Empire up into the clouds or down into the bottomless pit, why, let it be used and forthwith. We believe in all that sort of thing, and we feel sure that the men at the head of the United Irish League are not contrary minded" 1899

The man at the head of the United Irish League is Mr. J. Redmond. Mr. Redmond, in England, will probably plead for Home Rule in words of moderation and sympathy, but can the leopard change his spots? No! Neither can Mr. Redmond change his views to suit a British audience. In black and white he has placed on record **his hatred of Great Britain and his desire to injure her people.**

[The above has been issued as a leaflet by the Union Defence League; and copies can be obtained from the League's Offices (25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.) upon application to the Secretary.]

AN OPEN LETTER TO LIBERALS.

By Ian Malcolm.

GENTLEMEN,

You are now aware that, whether you like it or dislike it, your leaders (Messrs. Asquith and Co.) have consummated an open alliance with the Nationalist party, in order to give effect to the official Liberal declaration (uttered through the mouth of Mr. Winston Churchill at the N.W. Manchester by-election) that Home Rule is to be a main plank of the Liberal party whenever the General Election takes place. This new and amazing combination of two political parties, one of which glories in its hostility to Great Britain, whilst the other imagines itself to be the divinely appointed custodian of the rights and liberties of the British people, is being advertised far and wide by "living pictures"; for Liberal and Nationalist M.P.'s are now appearing in the flesh, side by side like the Siamese twins, on British platforms, and proclaiming their joint determination to have Home Rule for Ireland.

You, of course, follow the Irish question very closely, as you are now so deeply committed to Home Rule as a party; therefore, you know full well—from the Nationalist weekly papers which you read—that by "Home Rule" no true Nationalist means some glorified scheme of local self-government, but Separation pure and simple. You are not the least taken in by the fact that, on March 30 of the present year, Mr. Redmond qualified his famous Home Rule resolution in the House of Commons by tagging on to it words admitting the control of the Imperial Parliament; that was part of the party game. You console yourselves by knowing that Mr. Redmond has never gone back on the words of Parnell: "**I will accept the Home Rule compromise of Gladstone as an instalment of our rights**"; that he has declared (April 13, 1903) that if there was the smallest reasonable chance of success he would preach **armed revolt** to his fellow countrymen; that he has recently invited over to Ireland the notorious Patrick Ford from America, whose attitude towards your country is best expressed in his own words:—

"If there is any dynamite or lyddite that will blow the British Empire up into the clouds . . . let it be used and forthwith."

Men don't advise the use of bayonet and rifle, of lyddite and dynamite, to achieve extended powers of local self-government. These counsels of physical force are for no other purpose than to effect Separation.

All this you know; but I will not suppose that you have ceased to be Liberals in spirit, even though your party is sold into bondage to the Separatists. This we know from the brave words of Mr. J. Devlin, M.P., at Philadelphia, on November 21, 1908:—

"Through the policy of the Irish Parliamentary party, we are to-day the arbiters of England's destinies. We can say to the Liberals: 'Come in,' or 'go out.'"—*Irish World*, Nov. 28.

It is true that he was speaking in America to the paymasters of the Irish party; for, again, you probably know that without the funds

subscribed in America and Australia for the maintenance of the Nationalist party in Parliament, the United Irish League would be on the high road to bankruptcy. The Irish peasant, who, through the operation of Mr. Wyndham's Act of 1903, is now the possessor of his own small farm, can't be bothered with the irksome attentions of these agitators, and he demonstrates his desire for a quiet life by declining to subscribe to the upkeep of the Nationalist party in London, and to the maintenance of Nationalist orators in Ireland. That is why the "Parliamentary Fund" has now dwindled to a sum so insignificant that it causes serious concern to Mr. Redmond and his friends. Home Rule is no longer popular with Irishmen who live in Ireland.

The Redmond party, to which you are now perforce allied, looks therefore for its moral and material support to the Irish-Americans on the other side of the Atlantic. You will gather by the following extracts from newspapers published in America, the tune to which you are supposed to dance as the partner of the Nationalist party.

"There is little doubt among thinking men but that Home Rule, even with its warmest intelligent supporters, was looked upon as only a means to an end—as the first step along the road to Separation. . .

"But we see it has come without Home Rule, this new, noble, conquering Irish spirit, and we see that its coming has made Home Rule a lifeless plaything for silly and corrupt Parliamentarians. And seeing this spirit, knowing that it is the spirit which ultimately is to free Ireland, we in America rejoice that the term 'Home Rule' is so infrequently used nowadays, and protest against its use at all. **Home Rule for Ireland is not wanted. Separation from England is.**"
—*Gaelic American*, Nov. 14, 1908.

The newspaper from which the foregoing quotation is taken is the organ of the extremist, physical force party in America. It has views upon the disposal, not only of Ireland, but of other parts of the Empire, to which I should like to call your attention before you hand in your subscriptions to subsidise your new platform partners. You may not be greatly impressed by the knowledge of the editors; still they have instinct enough to know how to fill the Irish hat with dollar-bills.

Regarding the re-organisation of the Army, whatever your views upon a system of National Service may be, the following will, doubtless, interest you:—

"Should the attempt be made, in pursuance of Lord Roberts' motion of Monday last, to put conscription into force, we hope that, at least, the men of Ireland will refuse to go to fight the battles of the landlord aristocracy of England and the alien plutocrats of London, but will remain at home, and, if the opportunity occurs, fight instead for the liberation of their own country from the withering and brutalising British rule."—*Gaelic American*, Nov. 28, 1908.

India and The Empire.

"Lord Kitchener recently requested the authorities in London to have 20,000 troops always ready to embark for India at a moment's notice, and this is the explanation of 'Featherston' Asquith's plan to take 24,000 of the most physically fit of the million unemployed

in England and organise and train them as a special reserve to take the place of men liable to be required in India at any instant.”—*Gaelic American*, Nov. 21, 1908.

And again—

“In celebration of King Edward’s ridiculous message to ‘His’ peoples of India, Madras fed 10,000 poor (more or less) and presented ‘loyal’ addresses to him and his Lieutenant-Governor. At the same time millions of ‘His’ Indian peoples were in a state of chronic starvation, and tens of thousands die annually from hunger and hunger-generated plague. Some day **the Indian people will arise in their might and sweep away their British rulers** and their native loyal addressers together.”—*Gaelic American*, Nov. 28, 1908.

Wherefore—

“The moral for the Indian people is to follow the example of the Young Turks, and not the advice of *India*. Let them proceed diligently and without noise with organisation for the liberation of India, and at the same time carry on an active propaganda among the troops of the native army; then, when the moment arrives and circumstances favour, let them notify the British Raj that the time has arrived for it to ‘get out,’ and that there is an Indian Army ready to enforce the eviction. That is the advice of the *Gaelic American*, in opposition to the futile course recommended by *London India*.”—*Gaelic American*, Nov. 28, 1908.

Egypt.

Let us pass from India, and notice what your Home Rule advisers in America have to say about our occupation of Egypt, which all progressive countries (and, incidentally, the *fellaheen* of Egypt) combine to extol as a triumph of civilising work:—

“Neither the English Government nor the British people can or will do justice to any people they can rob with impunity, or that willingly submits to be plundered by them. Under these circumstances, then, it would be better for Egypt to remain without a constitution and to wait until conditions become such that the Egyptian people, as well as those others now held down by England and France, while cosmopolitan financiers go through their pockets, can rise and overthrow their oppressors and the burdens of debt heaped upon them.”—*Gaelic American*, Nov. 14, 1908.

Germany.

Having read the advice given to the peoples of Ireland, India, and Egypt, to rise in their might and overthrow the Power which now governs them, will you finally take note of the official utterance of the Irish-German-American society in New York to which the *Gaelic American* gave enormous prominence. Its ambition appears to be to humiliate Great Britain, and to bring her to her knees, as will be seen by the following quotation from the speech of Mr. Cummings, the “National President”

of the aforesaid society, delivered on Sunday, October 4, in Terrace Garden, New York City, before an audience of 5,000 people :—

“ As a united body, we will oppose an alliance of any kind, secret or otherwise, with any foreign power and this Government, and particularly between Great Britain and the United States, and we will oppose any candidate for office who is in favour of such an alliance. . . .

“ I come here to-day as the executive head of a great Irish organisation to extend the hand of sincere friendship to the German people, and to say to you that if England's continual attempt to curb the progress of the great German nation should lead to war between England and Germany, **the German nation in that struggle will receive the heartiest active support of the Irish people in the United States.**”—*National Hibernian*, Nov. 15, 1908.

It would have been well, and perhaps more candid, if Mr. Asquith had let you know in somewhat fuller detail the kind of allies with whom you will from henceforth be associated in your demand for Home Rule for Ireland. However, I will make it my business to keep you well informed upon the subject, in order that you may never be able to say that you did not know whither you were being led.

Your obedient servant,

IAN MALCOLM.

IRISH DIARY.

1908.**November 26.**—Mr. W. Long at the Sessional Dinner of United Club.**November 27.**—Mr. W. Long at Edinburgh.**November 28.**—Mr. A. Birrell at Warrington.**December 2.**—Lord Londonderry at Rotherham.**December 3.**—Mr. A. Birrell at London Magistrates' Annual Dinner.**December 4.**—Lord Ashbourne at York.**December 6.**—Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., at United Irish League meeting at Liverpool.**December 8.**—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Irish Land Bill. Second Reading. Speeches by Mr. Wyndham, Mr. J. Redmond, Mr. W. O'Brien, Mr. Lonsdale, Mr. Ginnell, Mr. Cherry, Mr. Dillon, Mr. J. Campbell, and Mr. Birrell.**December 11.**—Manchester University Union. Debate on Irish affairs and a strong anti-Home Rule resolution passed.

IRISH FACTS.

FEBRUARY, 1909.

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IRISH FACTS.

Vol. 3.—No. 2.]

[FEBRUARY, 1909.

CURRENT NOTES.

“Not taking it Lying Down.”

Notwithstanding their abandonment by Mr. Birrell, Irish Unionists, Protestants, and Loyalists are by no means disposed to submit to the yoke of the United Irish League without effective protest.

The Joint Committee of the Irish Unionist Associations, at their meeting on December 31, unanimously passed the following resolution:—

“That the Joint Committee of the Unionist Associations of Ireland view with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction the announcement in the Press that the Orange Association has formed an Emergency Committee for the purpose of helping to protect the Loyalists of all denominations throughout the country who may be suffering from the tyranny of the United Irish League.”

In all parts of Ireland resolutions have been unanimously passed by Orange Lodges approving the action of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland in re-establishing the Emergency Committee to succour those who are persecuted by the United Irish League, and the sympathy of the lodges has without delay taken the practical form of forwarding subscriptions to the Relief Fund.

In County Cavan the Loyalists are energetically fighting the boycott. Terrorised by the United Irish League, certain mill owners have refused to handle the oats of some of the neighbouring farmers. Knowing that they must rely on their own efforts, the anti-boycotters called a meeting, formed themselves into a co-operative society, subscribed the necessary funds, purchased a mill, and are now ready to bid defiance to the United Irish League and its lawless practices.

It is deplorable that such a state of affairs should exist, but having regard to the apathy of the Irish Executive and the circumstances of the case, no one can maintain that the loyalists are not fully justified in acting as they have done.

Still a Devolutionist!

From the *Times* (January 11), reporting Mr. Haldane in East Lothian:—

“A further question had reference to the state of Ireland. Mr. Haldane said that he thought the step-by-step policy was the right one, and that he believed the state of the country was better to-day than in days gone past. If the Irish had taken the Irish Councils Bill they would find themselves a great deal better than they were now.”

Mr. Haldane is apparently still a Devolutionist! But we understood Devolution had been abandoned as a policy by the Government, who are pledged to a thoroughgoing measure of Home Rule.

Enniscorthy's Loyalty !

The following is a copy of a disloyal poster that has recently been issued in Enniscorthy. We are told that anti-British sentiment is dead in Ireland, and that no fear of the effect of Home Rule need be entertained on that account. This poster is an effective reply :—

JOIN THE ARMY

Sell your soul, your country, and your God for the Saxon Shilling. Join England's hireling murderers, that pitchcapped and hanged your forefathers in '98, and that would do the same with you to-morrow. Your reward will be a life of immorality, and a dog's death in the gaol or by the roadside. Go to India, to murder women and children, and shoot down men who are fighting for liberty.

JOIN THE POLICE

Become one of England's paid spies and murderers; become a Sullivan or a Sheridan; one of the creatures in England's pay who evicted your fathers, and would do the same with their own. One of the men who shot young Stenson, and would shoot you to-morrow. Soldiers and Peelers are alike; don't associate with them; make it impossible for England to get recruits here and her power is at an end.

**COD SAVE IRELAND AND TO HELL
WITH ENGLAND.**

The "Union Jack" Boycotted.

At a recent meeting of the Tralee Board of Guardians the following resolution was passed :—

"That we, the Tralee Board of Guardians, most strongly protest against the recent Christmas treat being made the occasion of turning the workhouse into a recruiting ground of the British Army. We are,

at all times, grateful to anybody whose efforts conduce towards breaking the monotony of the workhouse life, but we protest against the introduction of the Union Jack and a military band into such an entertainment. The British orgie which disgraced the workhouse recently was not authorised by us. The material treat was ; but we gave no permission for the occasion being availed of for British Army canvassing purposes. While thankful for the kindness of those ladies who organised the entertainment, in so far as it concerned the happiness of the children, we declare our unalterable opposition to the Ascendency Garrison being further permitted to tamper with the inmates of the union. That the condition we impose on organisers of all future entertainments be that no Union Jack be displayed, and that the master be directed to prevent the display of that particular flag."—*Kerry People*, January 9.

To Mr. Winston Churchill, who says that Home Rule would make the Empire stronger, we commend the incident.

Diminishing Confidence.

From the *Irish Independent* (January 2):—

"The United Irish Parliamentary and National Fund for 1908 has closed, and shows an increase of £244 on the collection for 1907, though a decrease as compared with the two preceding years of £6,415 in 1906, and £6,007 in 1905.

"A comparison of the totals of the Fund for the last four years shows the following amounts:—

1908.	1907.	1906.	1905.
£7,641	£7,397	£14,056	£13,648

Priests and Publicans.

From the *Irish People* (December 26):—

"SIR,—The following analysis of the collection made in Belfast for the Parliamentary Fund cannot fail to be instructive to your readers:—

	£	s.	d.
Amount acknowledged up to and including December 12	379	17	0
November 10, 14, 21, and 28, and December 5 and 12.			
	£	s.	d.
Priests of Belfast	26	11	0
Priests of country	20	0	0
Publicans and bookmakers	207	19	6
Officials of League	24	5	0
Country subs.	8	14	0
	287	9	6
Total for Belfast public	92	7	6
	£379	17	0

"No cheque has yet been sent to Dublin. But it will be seen that Mr. Devlin's friends, the publicans, rule the roost.—Yours, LOOKER-ON."

An Unrepresentative League.

In view of the deference paid by the Government to opinions expressed by the United Irish League assembled in conference at Dublin, it is well to have from an Irish Nationalist source a confession of its unrepresentative character. In the *Irish People* (January 16) we read :—

“It is an undeniable fact that in three-fourths of the country the United Irish League is absolutely non-existent. There is not one live branch in Dublin city or county. In the City of Cork and the seven divisions of the county there are not at the outside half a dozen. In Limerick city there is no branch, and in the county it has for all practical purposes disappeared. In Waterford there is no branch, and the League has long been dead in the county. In Galway city there is no branch, nor is there in Clonmel, nor in Tralee, nor most of the other towns in Ireland. In the rural districts in every part of the country the case is just as bad.”

The State's Generosity to Ireland.

Irish Home Rulers who are for ever harping on Ireland's financial grievances will not thank Mr. T. W. Russell for his references in his speech at Aughnacloy, on January 6, to the State's generosity towards Ireland in the matter of land purchase. He said :—

“Therefore, in regard to land purchase transactions since 1903, the State, which, being interpreted, meant the British and Irish taxpayer, gave free, gratis, and for nothing the following amounts :—£12,000,000, the original bonus ; £3,500,000 additional bonus (estimated) ; £1,500,000 loss on flotation of bonus stock ; £7,500,000 estimated loss of flotation on the whole scheme. This was, roughly, a gift of £25,000,000 sterling on the part of the Imperial Exchequer to carry through the transfer of the land in Ireland. Yet there were people who described this as beggarly stinginess. And, in addition to this, the Bill raised the income of the Congested Districts Board from £86,000 to £250,000 per annum—a sum which, capitalised, would represent another gift approaching £5,000,000.”—*Belfast News Letter*, January 7.

If Ireland had Home Rule she would have to finance herself. She could no longer look to the State to help her over her financial difficulties. We commend this fact to Irish Home Rulers.

To End Land Purchase.

Insufficient attention has been given to a remarkable utterance by Mr. Lloyd George at Liverpool, on December 21. In his speech he said :—

“I do not think any man would invest in Irish land if he had a stocking available in which he could put his spare cash.”—*Times*, December 22, 1908.

The British people have invested some £26,000,000 in Irish land. They are asked to invest some £160,000,000 more in Irish land by the very Government whose Chancellor of the Exchequer tells them they would do better to keep their money in a stocking ! We say nothing of the

fraudulent nature of the prospectus of recent issues of Irish Land Stock if Mr. Lloyd George's warning is correct. But we can conceive nothing more likely to end land purchase than for the Minister concerned in raising the money to decry the security of his own issue.

A "Virile" Condemnation.

Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., has addressed the following letter (January 9, 1909) to Rev. P. Finegan, Togher, County Louth:—

"I have your letters and also the protest of the Louth County Council against the allotment by the Estates Commissioners of land for planters in your parish, to the detriment of its peace. I shall willingly sign the memorial you are sending to the authorities, who, I think, should be made aware that **when his Eminence Cardinal Logue and others subscribed funds to provide arms for the Louth evicted tenants on untenanted lands in Leitrim the project had to be abandoned owing to the local outcry.** That it should now be officially proposed to saddle us with Western emergency men at the public expense is, therefore, rather hard. It must, as you fear, breed strife in an absolutely quiet and kindly neighbourhood, to say nothing of the disappointment of the hopes of the local farmers and labourers. If I request you to postpone the proposed meeting it is because I do not like to join in any premature attack on a public department which has heavy responsibilities until our remonstrances are weighed, and also because I feel that planters who surrender their "takes" must be compensated somehow. Were there no other argument, I consider that the treatment which the cardinal's relief committee received, and the heavy pecuniary loss it inflicted on its members (especially Mr. Engledon) when they tried to provide for the Louth evicted tenants, should suffice to exempt our county from the importation of distant undesirables.

"With regard to your second inquiry as to the possibility of the sale of estates in your parish being facilitated by the new Purchase Bill, I regret to think that should it become law **land purchase will be brought to a standstill.** No landlord who has refused to sell under Mr. Wyndham's Act is likely to be tempted by Mr. Birrell's. It would mean getting four or five years' purchase less for his estates and entail much less favourable conditions. Unsold estates must necessarily be those which in the past were never keenly pressed for sale by eager vendors. This is the key to the position. The Treasury officials (who hate land purchase) know it very well, and deliberately drew the clauses foisted into Mr. Birrell's Bill in order to kill future sales and not to promote them. There used to be fine newspaper 'copy' and grand platform rant made out of decrying the Wyndham Act, but the farmers of Ireland will sorrowfully realise that they will get no such good terms under the new Bill. Those who bought under the 1903 Act can now chuckle, and those who did not may gnash their teeth for comfort pending the millennium foretold by Mr. Sexton. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The disappointed dupes will doubtless shortly be told that if they would only take to cattle-driving the purse-strings of the Treasury will be loosed, and the price of bog stock will then rise on the London market. Well, supposing a score of planters were dumped on your parish, would the

combined wisdom of all the placemen that ever emerged from Princes Street suggest that to drive their cows would bring poor parishioners nearer to the ownership of their holdings ?

“ ‘Who drives fat oxen should himself be fat.’ But if Mr. Birrell’s Bill be the measure of the worth of cattle-driving, it has **proved the leanest policy for the Irish farmers that has ever been devised.** Within the last month the British taxpayer has been warned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that it would be far safer to put money into an old stocking than into Irish land. One would at least suppose that a Government which emitted such a watchword against land purchase could easily have been persuaded to disinfect the fair rent courts and adopt the Scotch judicial term of seven years ; yet I never remember a time when the landlords enjoyed so complete a mastery over the fixing of fair rents. When such is the plight to which the land question has been brought, it naturally seems good tactics on the part of those responsible to propose to avert the gaze of the coming convention from a contemplation of their wisdom by interposing a debate on the weather, original sin, and other ‘really virile’ actualities.”

“The Ranchers’ Friends,” his Colleagues.

At a meeting at Delvin on January 10, Mr. Ginnell, M.P., was the principal speaker. His speech was for the greater part devoted to a criticism of his colleagues. From the report in the *Dublin Daily Express* (January 12) we reproduce the more striking passages :—

“Sixteen months ago, when the hazel was sweeping all before it, and they were pressing Mr. Birrell pretty hard, the ranchers’ friends raised the cry to give Mr. Birrell a chance. During those 16 months 60,000 Irish people had emigrated ; those who remained had not got a new Land Act ; no ranch in that district had been distributed except what the hazel had previously cleared. Mr. Birrell had been sneering at them, boasting that he was not using coercion, but imprisoning cattle-drivers without trial, flooding the country with police, and getting innocent men shot down in cold blood. **Whilst he had been doing all this the ranchers’ friends had been continually singing his (Mr. Birrell’s) praises.**

“In that state of things, he (Mr. Ginnell) proposed at a meeting of the Irish party last October that only a small number of them—the members of the party—should go to London, and only for the purpose of obstruction and fight, and that the rest of the party should stay in Ireland helping the people in their fight for land and promoting Irish manufactures. When that proposal was rejected he went at once to London and stayed there constantly doing all that was possible for one man to do there. **Some of those who defeated his proposal neither went to London nor helped the people in Ireland since, but attended to number one. . . .**

“Mr. Ginnell then proceeded to refer to ‘a few of their plans,’ and in reference to landlords who would not agree to sell to the tenants at the value, he suggested that the tenants on one estate, or on a number of estates for that matter, should act together, agree to pay no more rent, and lodge in the hands of trustees the amount of the rent, less the reductions which fair purchase prices would give

them. If any of the tenants were attacked by the landlord and prosecuted, this money would be used to fight him, and he might then see it would be better to have the money than let it go in legal expenses. . . . How far Mr. Birrell's Bill would go, and whether it would do any good for them, would depend, not on trimmers and job-hunters, but on **the use of the hazel**. It was well within their power to make a clean sweep of all the ranches in two or three counties in a single night. He challenged them, men there, were they worthy of the ranches, or were they prepared to do that? He advised the young men not to go to America whilst there was fine land there behind them. Let them stay at home, and let whoever willed frown on the hazel; let them show what it could do. **Let them give no peace or ease to the bullock for the rest of their lives.** Let the grass grow and shelter the larks and the hares, and great statesmen who could not find money to purchase the land, but could find it for the Boer war, would be soon influenced by the condition of things to open John Bull's purse strings."

An Adopted Measure.

Speaking at Islandeady on Sunday, December 13, Mr. Reddy, M.P., said:—

"Before he left the House of Commons, Mr. Dillon told him: 'Go to Islandeady, for they are a brave and grand people there. Explain the Land Act (*i.e.*, Mr. Birrell's Land Bill) to them, and tell them from me that **this Act is formed by the Government on the lines given to them by the Irish party.**'"—*Connaught Telegraph*, December 19.

It is interesting to get this first-hand information that the Government have only adopted the measure of the Irish Home Rule party. Irish farmers also will, doubtless, note that the responsibility for killing Land Purchase lies with their own Parliamentary representatives.

Brave Words.

Speaking at Straide on January 6, Mr. Kettle, M.P., said:—

"If the present Liberal Chancellor attempts to increase by one penny the taxation of Ireland, such an attempt ought to be resisted by the Irish party, even to the last expediency of suspension *en masse*."

In another part of his speech he said:—

"**Every wise thing in Mr. Birrell's Bill is a plagiarism from the programme of the Irish party and the United Irish League.** . . . So far as it is a satisfactory measure . . . it is the Bill of the Irish party. It is the Bill of the cattle-drivers."—*Freeman's Journal*, January 7.

Mr. Birrell's Chance.

Speaking at Duleek in South Meath on Sunday, December 13, Mr. Sheehy, M.P., said:—

"That three years ago his advice to them was 'keep to the cattle-driving.' To-day he had to tell them to put up their swords considering the Bill to which Mr. Birrell had pledged himself. The

Chief Secretary had pledged himself to the breaking up of the grazing ranches. He had pledged himself that the people should get the preference over the cattle, and for the first time he (Mr. Sheehy) would ask his constituents to give Mr. Birrell a chance. . . . He would ask them to let things go on quietly until the fate of the Bill is decided, and no matter how they may be provoked not to resume cattle-driving until that."—*Drogheda Independent*, December 19.

A Popular Representative.

A U.I.L. meeting at Ballinameen on January 11 afforded a useful illustration of the manner in which the popular representatives on Mr. Birrell's enlarged Congested Districts Board would be likely to use their power.

Mr. John Fitzgibbon, one of the Trustees of the Irish Parliamentary Fund, in his speech "showed how all Connaught would be under the control of the Congested Districts Board, and the people of those counties would have the power of selecting their representatives on this Board." Then came an illuminating interruption: "**John Fitzgibbon will represent Roscommon.**"

Mr. Fitzgibbon kindly disclosed the views he held in the very next part of his speech, saying:—

"The Government was forced to introduce that Bill by the action of the people who drove the cattle off, but when he saw that the Government were about to bring in a Bill, he said to the people 'Give them a chance.'"—*Irish Times*, January 14.

To such men Mr. Birrell proposes to give powers of compulsory purchase over the whole of the west of Ireland!

The *Irish People* (January 16) draws attention to another of Mr. Fitzgibbon's pronouncements. It says:—

"The fact that Mr. John Fitzgibbon is Bishop O'Donnell's co-Trustee of the National Funds makes it necessary to draw attention to the new cattle-driving campaign which that gentleman has foreshadowed, and which will be paid for, as the last was, out of money under Dr. O'Donnell's control. Said Mr. Fitzgibbon:—

"The people of Straide wanted the land of Straide, and he came there to tell how to do the trick. He came there for the purpose of preparing them to adopt Roscommon methods if Mr. Birrell's methods did not become law. . . . He declared that if the Birrell Bill, that had been introduced and got a second reading, did not become law he would devote his time and energy, at the head of his people in Connaught, to make war on the ranches, and, believe him, that all the police in the dépôt, with the British army thrown in, would not be able to keep the cattle on the plains."

After such a declaration we think the public are entitled to know whether the Bishop of Raphoe approves of this policy, and whether he will be a party to subsidising a line of action which his episcopal brethren have vehemently reprobated as a gross breach of the moral law. He has a clear warning of what is to take place."

The Only Way.

From the *Irish Catholic* (December 12):—

“As we view things, the only way in which there is even remote hope of the completion of the process of Land Purchase in this country lies in the early installation in office of an administration capable of commanding that public confidence which would open the gates of National and Imperial credit—gates which the Government now in power have fast-locked against themselves.”

After British Gold.

In the House of Commons, on December 11, Mr. Hugh Barrie asked the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) what was the total amount of the remuneration paid to the honourable Member for East Wicklow (Mr. John Muldoon, M.P.), recently employed as arbitrator in the case arising out of breaches of an agreement entered into between the Department and Antony Mackey, who conducted a peat-works experiment at Castleconnell, co. Limerick; over how many days the arbitration extended; what was the rate of the arbitrator's fee; and from what source was the payment made by the Department.

Mr. Cherry, who replied, said: My right hon. friend, the Vice-President, informs me that the total amount of the fees paid to Mr. Muldoon, M.P., the arbitrator in this case, was £78 15s., being for five days' hearing in the country, at the rate of 15 guineas a day. The Department are advised that this is a very reasonable fee for a practising barrister acting in this capacity. The payment was made from the Endowment Fund of the Department.

Very varied is the treatment meted out to Irish Home Rule M.P.'s by the British Government. While Mr. Muldoon, M.P., gets an arbitration case at £15 15s. a day and Mr. John O'Connor, M.P., is employed in England and Wales as a Crown Prosecutor, Mr. Farrell, M.P., gets six months in gaol. We are awaiting the sublimest of all Mr. Birrell's jests, when one Irish Home Rule M.P. shall, as Counsel for the Crown be instrumental in sending a colleague to Kilmainham.

“Independent Opposition.”

From the *Irish People* (December 26):—

“There have been unfortunately many scandalous transactions in Ireland, but we question whether there has ever been one meaner, more contemptible, and more humiliating than the bargain between the Chief Secretary and the Bosses of the Irish party, on the strength of which a Bill was allowed to become law adding £15,000 a year to the cost of the Royal Irish Constabulary. It is only too evident now that the compact arrived at between Mr. Dillon and Mr. Birrell was that if a Bill were brought in killing Land Purchase, there would not be a syllable of opposition to a measure which adds as much to the cost of the police force as would enable five millions to be floated for land purchase in Ireland. A few weeks ago Mr. Redmond stated in the House of Commons that the Constabulary Bill was one to which the Irish party were intensely opposed, and that they would resist to the utmost any attempt to pass it into law in the Session which has just come to a close. A short time ago Mr. Kettle, M.P., prepared a leaflet for the revived Irish Press Agency, showing that

the police force in Ireland was costing nearly three times as much as a similar force in Scotland, and proving that the pruning knife of the economist could be vigorously and profitably exercised on the Constabulary Estimates. But Mr. Birrell knew the men with whom he was dealing. He arranged the matter with Mr. Dillon in his private room, and having paid the price the purchase-blockers demanded, Mr. Redmond and his followers were ordered to quit Westminster in order that there might be no obstacle to the passing of Mr. Birrell's Bill. A few Members who remained in the House of Commons showed a disposition to oppose the Bill on the second reading, but they were promptly brought to heel. They did not dare to go into the division lobby against it, and they disappeared during the remaining stages of the measure."

A Lamentable Failure.

In the House of Commons on December 19, Mr. Lonsdale asked Mr. Birrell to state the total number of cases of cattle-driving reported to the Inspector-General to December 12, 1908, the number of distinct cases in which proceedings were instituted, and the number of persons proceeded against, distinguishing under the last-mentioned head between the different results of proceedings before magistrates and before juries respectively.

The Chief Secretary's reply discloses a lamentable failure on the part of those in authority to take steps to bring up for punishment persons engaged in cattle-drives.

Up to December 12, 1908, there had been no less than 1,051 cattle-drives. Proceedings, however, had only been taken in 162 cases; from which it is easily deduced that **in no less than 889 cases no action has been taken.**

The proceedings in respect of these 162 cases involved 1,582 persons, and an interesting analysis of the result of these actions can be made from Mr. Birrell's answer:—

Of 1,434 persons proceeded against	1,181 ordered to find bail.
before magistrates:—	109 discharged.
	76 informations refused.
	39 charge dropped.
	29 pending.
Of 148 persons proceeded against	17 convicted.
before juries:—	27 acquitted.
	102 jury disagreed.
	2 <i>nolle prosequi</i> .

<u>1,582</u> persons proceeded against.	<u>1,582</u>
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An examination of these figures discloses the astounding fact that **out of 1,582 persons proceeded against, only 17 (convicted by juries) can be said to have received adequate punishment for their lawless and riotous acts.**

Further investigation is required to disclose to the full the failure of the Irish Executive to enforce the law in respect of the cattle-drivers. Since proceedings in 162 cases involved 1,582 persons, we shall not be exaggerating in estimating at 10,000 the number of persons involved in the total 1,051 cattle-drives.

From this estimate two results emerge :—

- (1) That out of a probable total of 10,000 law-breakers, the Irish Executive have only taken action against 1,582, or less than one-sixth.
- (2) That out of a probable total of 10,000 law-breakers, adequate punishment has been inflicted on seventeen !

Who shall be surprised that cattle-driving goes merrily on, bringing in its train the further evils of boycotting, intimidation, and shooting ?

Augustine the Lawless.

Augustine Birrell is my theme—Augustine the portentous,
Outpourer of the poorest jokes, with which he will torment us ;
How he became a Minister has ever been mysterious,
But now the question has become, for Ireland, quite too serious.

Augustine Birrell is the life and soul of cattle-driving,
But, like the prudent prig he is, he does it by conniving,
For, sitting in his easy chair, excuses he composes,
And leaves it to the Peelers to endure the broken noses.

Augustine Birrell swaggers too, and is a boastful hero,
Swearing by all the gods he will reduce the Lords to zero ;
The Lords, however, will survive and see Augustine's ending,
Though he may linger on a while, his evil deeds defending.

Augustine thinks himself a wit, and as a critic capers,
Excelling in the brotherhood of Tadpoles and of Tapers ;
But 'tis not from such stuff as this that statesmen can be fashioned,
And a little mind is a little mind, however much impassioned.

Meanwhile poor Ireland has to pay the price of this impostor,
And broken laws and broken heads are what his rule has cost her ;
But soon we hope the day will come when Fate, his doom denouncing,
Will send him to the right-about with all his jokes and bouncing.

QUOUSQUE TANDEM.

Mr. Lenoon, of Mullingar, thus delivered his soul lately :—" To-day Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon, who were independent men, down to the most insignificant member of the party, were all cattle-drivers, and Mr. Birrell, for that matter, was a very vicious cattle-driver."

—(From the *Dublin Daily Express*, Jan. 16, 1909.)

A Priestly Lawbreaker.

From the *Irish People* (January 16) :—

" If we were to judge from Father Garry's speech, it would really seem that portions of Clare must be reduced to a state of moral anarchy. **How can a Catholic help hanging his head in shame when a priest uses such language as the following with reference to a practice which Bishop after Bishop has denounced as immoral and which, in some dioceses, has been placed in the category of ' reserved sins ' :—**

' No matter how they might denounce cattle-driving, he said he could tell them they still had the hazel. It might be seasoning, but when the time came they would have the hazel to come forward again.'

Where such doctrines are preached, and where Mr. Reddy, M.P., is able to say that 'some of the good priests of Killaloe had helped him in cattle-driving,' it is sadly evident the obligations of the moral law are no longer recognised."

An Armed Peasant.

Some indication of the result of Mr. Birrell's action in establishing free trade in firearms may be gained from police evidence given at Galway on January 6 in a shooting case.

Head-Constable Attridge paid a visit to the prisoner's house and found him in bed with a loaded Winchester rifle by his side. Some time later, when arrested, the prisoner had a double-barrelled gun in his hand. Subsequent search disclosed a loaded Mauser rifle inside his bed, and an old Snider in the loft where he slept!

Are four guns absolutely necessary to the existence of an Irish peasant? Mr. Birrell might provide an answer.

"Triumphant, Coercive, and Autocratic."

At the Mullingar Quarter Sessions, on January 11, Judge Curran, referring to the state of Co. Westmeath, said:—

"So long as the law of the League in certain districts is permitted to remain **triumphant, coercive, and autocratic**, and the laws of the country at the same time allowed to remain flouted, derided, and trampled under foot—so long as that state of affairs exists in certain districts of your county you cannot expect me to congratulate you on the state in which I find it. I find there have been nine cases of cattle-driving since the last time I sat here, and there were fourteen prisoners made amenable. The number of persons boycotted, wholly boycotted, in your district is 32; partially boycotted, four. The number of persons receiving police protection, four; and the number receiving partial protection, one. That is a lamentable state of affairs, and you cannot expect me to congratulate you on the state in which I find your county."

A Passive Hater.

Mr. T. W. Russell, in his speech at Aughnacloy on January 6, told his audience that "if there was one thing that he hated and abhorred it was boycotting."

He also said:—

"He did more to resist this odious form of tyranny twenty years ago, when it prevailed to ten times the extent that it did now, than almost anyone else, certainly than anyone in Parliament. He did not confine himself to asking questions in the House of Commons. He raised money all over England, and carried relief, personally, to many of the sufferers, and he had the same feeling of hatred and disgust for the system now that he had then."—*Belfast News Letter*, January 7.

He did NOT tell his audience why, if he "hates and abhors" boycotting with "the same feeling of hatred and disgust . . . now that he had then," he declines to take the measures of relief he took then.

Not only does he do NOTHING to check this system which has his

"hatred and abhorrence," but he actually supports the Government in its refusal to put the Crimes Act into operation, although he has many times borne witness to the effectiveness of that Act in bringing boycotting to an end.

We do not envy him his thoughts.

Mr. T. W. Russell's Boycotting Case.

The following letter from Mr. H. T. Barrie, M.P., tells its own story. We reproduce it, however, as Mr. T. W. Russell's boycotting case will doubtless become a stock illustration from Radical and Home Rule speakers of the intolerance of Unionist Ulster towards its opponents.

"To the Editor of the *Belfast News Letter*.

SIR,—In his speech reported in your issue of to-day Mr. T. W. Russell complains that because of an incendiary fire which occurred on a farm in my constituency three years ago, and an alleged attack on the owner of the farm at a later date, I should refrain from condemning the policy of the present Government, which has encouraged outrage of every class over one-third of the island. Much as I regret that any political opponent of mine should be injured either in person or property—I have always maintained most pleasant relationships with every section—I must express my doubt as to whether politics had really anything whatever to do with the case referred to. I say so because I remember distinctly that Mr. Bailey attended a crowded meeting of my supporters on the eve of the election, and although he was the only opponent present—and rather an aggressive one at that—he was treated with the utmost forbearance and courtesy, and knowing the excitement prevailing at such times in keenly contested elections, I think his treatment greatly redounded to the credit of the district. Absolutely no resentment whatever was shown at his intrusion on our meeting. As regards the suggestion of boycotting, I have no hesitation in saying that the charge is absolutely unfounded.

"Living as I do in the constituency, I have from time to time seen Mr. Bailey in the Londonderry markets pursuing his lawful business without let or hindrance. Indeed, it would be difficult to find a better specimen of the jovial, prosperous-looking, well-to-do County Derry farmer, evidently well content with himself and all the world beside. Why, I recall as I write that about a year ago Mr. Bailey was good enough to photograph me as a member of the County Agricultural Committee, and in arranging the group he in the most friendly and complimentary manner insisted that I should take the place of honour in the centre! No, the suggestion of boycotting in County Derry won't do. Mr. Russell, as the new apologist of the methods of the United Irish League, must try again. Irish Unionist members will continue to do what they believe to be their duty by isolated Unionists in the ill-fated districts which have been deserted by the Government and handed over to the enemies of their country. May I respectfully suggest that Mr. Russell would have been better employed last evening in apologising for the gross misstatements which he made regarding the working of the 1903 Land Act, both before the Royal Commission on Congestion and to a carefully selected Belfast audience in October last.—Yours respectfully,

"HUGH T. BARRIE.

"Manor House, Coleraine, January 9."

Mr. Birrell's Prisoner.

Mr. J. P. Farrell, M.P., as editor of the *Longford Leader*, has chosen to go to Kilmainham Gaol for six months without hard labour, in default of giving an undertaking to abstain from continuing to publish boycotting and intimidatory notices.

With their usual thoughtfulness for the feelings of others, the Government so arranged matters that proceedings were not commenced until Parliament had risen, and thus relieved Mr. Birrell from having to defend, and Mr. Redmond from having to criticise, the action of the Irish Executive.

Congratulations are certainly due to the officials who so admirably stage-managed the demonstration, though the nakedness of this sham fight might perhaps have been a little more effectually disguised.

Mr. Birrell is able to pose on British platforms as a vindicator of law and order. Mr. Farrell gains a martyr's crown and an excellent advertisement at the least possible inconvenience to himself. One cannot help contrasting his mild correction with the sentence of 14 months imprisonment with hard labour inflicted at the recent Connaught Assizes on those foolish people who followed the advice of agitators of the Farrell type.

Mr. Farrell has also had the additional pleasure of a letter from his leader, Mr. Redmond, expressing "his deep sympathy" with his colleague "in the cruel suffering which has so wantonly been inflicted by the action of the Government." It would be interesting to compare Mr. Farrell's "**Cruel suffering**" in Kilmainham with the conditions under which the dupes of the agitators are working out **their sentences**. Their lot has not earned Mr. Redmond's public commiseration.

We must wait for the opening of Parliament before seeing whether Mr. Redmond's "deep sympathy" with Mr. Farrell extends to making an effective protest at Westminster. Remembering the tongue-tiedness that has so mysteriously afflicted him and his following in the House of Commons in respect of similar incidents, we have reason to presume that such sympathy is intended strictly for Irish consumption.

For the Chief Secretary is reserved the unkindest cut of all in Mr. Redmond's letter. In no measured terms he condemns the use that is made of the Act of Edward III. Mr. Birrell must surely resent such ingratitude, as that antiquated statute was resurrected solely in the interests of the Irish Nationalist Party and its followers.

Let us hope that after Mr. Redmond's condemnation, Mr. Birrell will abandon the procedure of the Plantagenet sovereign, and enforce the Crimes Act in such cases. It will certainly be more effective, and cannot produce from Mr. Redmond a fiercer denunciation of coercion.

Coercion Birrell.

Mr. Farrell's imprisonment has produced much criticism from the more independent of the Irish Home Rule Press.

The *Drogheda Independent* (January 2) says:—

"Janus, like this Government, presents two faces to the world. In Parliament and on the platform, its high priests are unctuously sympathetic with the legitimate demands of the Irish people for those reforms needed to make life at home tolerable for thousands upon thousands of our people. In the King's Bench you see

Executive operating under an obsolete law to crush out liberty of speech and of the Press ! Mr. Birrell introduces a Bill into Parliament to bring about those very changes in the condition of Irish affairs, which Mr. Farrell has been sent to jail for six months for advocating ! The position of the Government in regard to the matter is, as the Irish leader points out, not alone stupid, but illogical. They admit the grievance, propose legislation to remedy it, and send an M.P. and journalist to jail for denouncing a system they themselves, by their Land Bill, seek to cure ! If the thing were presented on the stage as comic opera, it would be laughter-provoking ; as an attempt at 'firm government' and under 'the ordinary law,' it is farcical ; and as a manifestation of 'Liberal' administration, with the pretence of a sympathy with Irish wrongs, it is disgusting. Meantime the Irish people will join their political leader in deep sympathy with Mr. Farrell in the cruel suffering so wantonly imposed upon him by the action of the Government."

From the *Kilkenny People* (January 2):—

"Land purchase is at a standstill, the ratepayers of Ireland have been heavily mulcted, and those who have bravely stood by the people in their fight for the land have been singled out for attack by the time-dishonoured methods with which we were familiar under the coercion régime of Balfour. The British Government may disguise, but it does not change its methods. At the last Winter Assizes juries have been packed as shamelessly as they ever were, and where it has even been found impossible to wring a verdict from a packed jury the very semblance of trial by jury has been abolished, and one trusted Irish representative, Mr. J. P. Farrell, has spent his Christmas in prison, branded as a 'rogue and vagabond' by the law officers of the Crown, who owe their seats in Parliament to the Nationalist vote. Finally, the tide of emigration has continued with increased force, and the burthen of taxation that weighs so heavily on the country has also increased."

From the *Irish Nation* (January 2):—

"In the first days of their administration the Liberals pledged their word in their own House of Parliament that they at least would not descend to jury-packing. Yet they have packed juries against the cattle-drivers with a nonchalant deftness that puts the Tories in the shade. They pledged their solemn word that the R.I.C. should be reduced, and they have increased it, and are still increasing it.

"Their latest attempt to govern Ireland according to Irish ideas is the locking up in Kilmainham of Mr. Farrell, M.P., for a period of six months. In order to get Mr. Farrell securely under lock and key, an old Act, dating from the reign of Edward III. of England, for imprisoning rogues and vagabonds, is fished up, and Mr. Farrell is promptly convicted. . . . We are a trusting people. The Parliamentary party trusted the Liberals, and they have been sold (though, indeed, from their protracted state of masterly inactivity some people are wondering if they have not been bought). They trusted Mr. Redmond Barry when they made him M.P. for one of the divisions of Tyrone ; and at Mr. Farrell's 'trial' he indignantly repudiated the suggestion that he was a member of the United Irish League. It is time that we had done trusting English parties, and trusting the bought-up Irishmen who are working in the English interest."

A Ready Martyr.

From the *Clare Champion* (January 9):—

Gross and Kilbaha Branch, U.I.L.

“Resolved: ‘That we note with pride that the editor of Clare’s national organ (*Sansfield Maguire*) ignores Castle intimidation, and is prepared to follow the lead of brave and dauntless J. P. Farrell, M.P.’”

Will Mr. Birrell oblige Mr. Sansfield Maguire, who is so anxious for martyrdom upon the easy terms arranged for Mr. Farrell?

A Boycotted Horse-sweeper.

From the *Clare Champion* (January 9):—

Kilkishen Branch, U.I.L.

“Resolved: ‘That we, the members of the Kilkishen U.I.L., at meeting assembled, emphatically disapprove in the strongest possible manner the action of those who are responsible for having introduced a horse-sweeper into direct labour, and thereby depriving several labourers (who look upon direct labour as a winter’s savings bank) of their livelihood; and we earnestly call upon horse owners not to interfere with the poor labourers, and [upon ?] those who will act contrary to the resolution **we are determined to exercise our authority and make such gentlemen submit to the dictates of the League.**’”

LIFE IN IRELAND.

A Diary of Outrages, etc., under Radical Rule.

"He admitted that the condition of certain counties in the West of Ireland was bad. Indeed, he believed it was worse than at any time during which the present Government had been in office."—Lord Denman, House of Lords, October 21.

"He fully admitted that in certain districts in Ireland a condition of very considerable gravity prevailed, and that that condition was less favourable than it had been during the last two years."—Lord Crewe, House of Lords, October 21.

December 6—Co. Galway.—As the Commissioners were going to divide the land at Cappard, near Gort, they were assaulted by a number of men and women of the village, who forced them to retire. The stakes and screws that were put down to mark out the ground were taken up and thrown away by the crowd.—*Clare Champion*, Dec. 12.

December 6—Co. Kerry.—A shooting outrage occurred at Mountshannon, about twenty shots being fired at a dwelling house at close range.—*Clare Champion*, Dec. 12.

December 7—Co. Mayo.—Fourteen men of Kilmaine were served with summonses for "unlawful assembly and intimidation" on Nov. 4, and ordered to appear at Kilmaine Petty Sessions on Dec. 23.—*Western People*, Dec. 12.

December 7—Co. Clare.—The cattle on the lands of Mr. W. Caher were driven off at Munalee early in the morning.—*Clare Champion*, Dec. 12.

December 10—Co. Tipperary.—Two cattle drives took place at Kilconnell, near Cashel, on the lands of Mr. Tenant and Mr. Guiry, a large number of horses, sheep and cattle being driven off.—*Cashel Sentinel*, Dec. 12.

December 12—Co. Kerry.—A few nights ago a number of farmer's houses at Kilmainham were visited by a party of armed moonlighters, who fired some shots apparently to intimidate the inmates.—*Kerry Sentinel*, Dec. 12.

December 13—Co. Cork.—A daring attack was made on the house of a farmer named Charles Manning, near Blarney, a shot being fired through the kitchen window shattering the lower sash, followed by a second, which penetrated another window.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 20.

December 15—Co. Leitrim.—Some days ago three valuable bullocks were driven off the lands of Kiltoughart, near Carrick-on-Shannon, owned by a man named Gilmartin. The owner, since he took the farm has been subjected to considerable annoyance, and the sequel

to it was the drive. It is rumoured that the bullocks have been killed, and the beef divided amongst some people, as the police have not yet found any trace of them other than, on searching some houses, in one of them a large piece of corned beef weighing some 60 lbs. was discovered.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 15.

December 19—Co. Westmeath.—At the Petty Sessions Court at Kilbeggan, thirteen men were charged with unlawful assembly and assaulting certain members of the Irish Constabulary. It appears that after the disposal of fourteen men in a cattle-driving case on Nov. 21 (see IRISH FACTS, Dec., 1908, p. 573), a crowd assembled in the streets, of whom the defendants were the alleged ring-leaders, and refused to disperse when warned to do so. One of the defendants struck the District Inspector in the chest with a pole, and stones were thrown by the crowd. The police then drew their batons, and put the crowd out of the town. The cases were adjourned till the next Sessions.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Dec. 21.

December 22—Co. Galway.—Two constables on patrol duty between Oranmore and Athenry were attacked by a number of men, who threw stones at them. The police drew their revolvers and charged into a wood after them arresting three men, whom they conveyed to Oranmore police station. The accused were brought before a magistrate the next day and remanded.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 23.

December 23—Co. Mayo.—At Kilmain Petty Sessions twelve men were charged with illegal assembly, and with having tried to intimidate one, Joseph Mellett, from taking a grass farm in the district. A force of about ninety police were present in the town.—The case was withdrawn, the result being received with cheers outside the court.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Dec. 24.

December 24—Co. Limerick.—A few nights ago twenty-two head of cattle were driven off the lands of Mr. M. McDonald, near Rathkeale, and after considerable difficulty they were recovered with the aid of the police, having been driven in different directions for miles around. A claim for compensation has been lodged.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Dec. 24.

December 24—Co. Mayo.—The stock was cleared off the Burrish farm, the property of the Congested Districts Board, during the night at Irishtown, some of the stock not being recovered until six days afterwards.—*Irish Times*, Jan. 1, 1909.

December 24—Co. Galway.—Two constables were out on patrol duty near Duras at night, when they met a crowd of men disguised. Two of them were arrested after a struggle, and were conveyed next day to Kinvara, where they were charged before a magistrate under the Whiteboy Act and remanded.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 28.

December 24—Co. Clare.—While a farmer named Dooloughy was driving home with two of his workmen from Ennis at night, eight or ten shots were fired at him from a field, but fortunately none of the party were hit. The outrage is attributed to Dooloughy's refusal to give up a farm that he has taken under the eleven months' system.—*Northern Whig*, Dec. 25.

December 30—Co. Tipperary.—A large crowd assembled in broad daylight on the Ballyphilip Farm, near Killenaule, and drove off a large

number of cattle belonging to a Mr. Hughes. The police were apprised of the drive, and made twenty-five arrests, conveying the prisoners to Clonmel. There are already fourteen prisoners in Clonmel prison in connection with the agrarian dispute in the Holycross district, not far from Ballyphilip.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Dec. 31.

1909.

January 2—Co. Tipperary.—An attack was made on the mansion of Lieut.-Colonel Vivian Ryan-Lenigan, at Castlefogarty, the windows being smashed with stones. This gentleman's property has been disposed of under the Land Purchase Acts, and there are some of the tenants on the estate dissatisfied with the terms.—*Irish Times*, Dec. 5.

January 2—Co. Westmeath.—The thirteen men who were remanded at Kilbeggan for unlawful assembly, &c. (see IRISH FACTS, Dec. 19), were again brought up. Three of the defendants were discharged, the remainder being required to give bail, which was complied with, and the proceedings terminated.—*Irish Times*, Jan. 4.

January 4—Co. Roscommon.—Two farmers' sons named Daly, were attacked on their way home from Tulske, and badly injured. Their assailants were men armed with sticks. The police have arrested two local residents named Dooley, who have been remanded to Sligo gaol. The occurrence is believed to be connected with a dispute over an evicted farm.—*Northern Whig*, Jan. 6.

January 4—Co. Clare.—A farm near Carron, in the possession of a Mr. Daniel O'Brien, J.P., was cleared of stock, the cattle being driven almost into the town of Kilfenora.—*Clare Champion*, Jan. 9.

January 5—Co. Tipperary.—A correspondent of *The Irish Times* writes that for the past few nights attempts have been made at rioting in the streets of Thurles, crowds assembling with primitive bands, marching towards residences of certain parties for the purpose of making a hostile demonstration, it being necessary for the police to intercede and disperse them. On Saturday night, during the holding of a demonstration, on the release of a political prisoner from Holycross, the police were stored and many windows smashed.

January 5—Co. Clare.—Extensive cattle drives were effected on the grazing lands of Deelan, Mor, and Aughvanaua, held by a Mr. W. J. Corbett, Wilbrook; also of Boullana, held by Mr. D. O'Callaghan, Lisdoonvarna. The whole of the stock was driven towards Kinvara, the drivers frequently firing shots.—*Clare Champion*, Jan. 9.

January 6—Co. Longford.—About twenty-five head of cattle were driven off the lands of Clondra and across the Shannon into the county of Roscommon. Some of the beasts were found eight miles from the farm.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Jan. 8.

January 7—King's Co.—A correspondent of *The Irish Times* reports that some days ago a man named Michael Murray, who is employed as a caretaker on the Dowras farm, was proceeding to his home from Birr, when he was attacked by two men. From the particulars he gave to the police, it appears he defended himself as best he could, but received a bad beating. He is a feeble old man, and recently took proceedings against two members of the League, who have been bound over to keep the peace. (See IRISH FACTS, Dec. 2, p. 26.)

January 7—Co. Galway.—At the Gort Petty Sessions a man named John Connors, of Bunashragh, was charged with intimidating John Cooney, a coachman, in the employ of Viscount Gough. It was alleged that the defendant warned Cooney that he and his mother were not to continue dealing for goods at the public-house of Mr. Glynn, of Gort. Connors was returned for trial at the next Galway Assizes, bail being allowed.

John Quinn, of the same district, was also charged with cautioning a butcher not to go into Mr. Glynn's premises. Quinn was bound over to be of good behaviour for twelve months.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Jan. 8.

January 7—Co. Longford.—Mr. Harris Martin was driving from Lismore to Clondra, when he was attacked by a crowd. Six police, who were escorting him, were unable to protect him, and he was assaulted, his hands being injured by blows from sticks. Mr. Martin was a witness in the King's Bench in the case against Mr. Farrell, M.P.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Jan. 8.

January 8—Co. Meath.—Thirty-two head of cattle were driven off the lands of Clonsilla, the property of Captain Taylor, at Newtown-Girley. The cattle were found next day. Extensive drives took place on the same lands last year, and no arrests were effected.—*Irish Times*, Jan. 12.

January 10—Co. Tipperary.—Scenes of rioting and disorder still prevail at Thurles (see IRISH FACTS, Jan. 5). A man named Campion, who recently took over a farm, was returning from Mass when he was assaulted. Later in the day one, Scully, Campion's nephew, was attacked and stoned in the street. Scully fired four or five shots into the crowd, who fled. Special police patrols had to be called out at night, as the crowd extinguished the public lamps, and made an attack on the private house of a Mr. Walshe (who disposed of the farm to Campion), and broke several of his windows. The crowd were now in a very excited condition, and it became necessary for the police to charge them, and while doing so the constables were fiercely stoned. The police made one arrest. On the same night, Corbally Farm, in the district, the property of Mr. Walshe, was cleared of sixty head of cattle.—*Irish News*, Jan. 12.

January 12—Co. Longford.—Joseph Callaghan was charged with taking part in an unlawful assembly on January 1, for the purpose of boycotting and intimidating Mr. William Martin, a farmer residing near Longford. The accused was called upon to give bail for good behaviour, which he refused. He was then sent to prison for three months.—*Irish Times*, Jan. 13.

January 12—Queen's Co.—Scenes of excitement were witnessed near Roscrea at night, arising out of an eviction. A crowd of about two thousand people assembled with a band, accompanied by torchlight bearers, and proceeded to the residence of Mr. Rudd, the landlord of the evicted tenant. A force of police appeared on the scene, but they were powerless to disperse the crowd. There were shouts of "Down with the evictors," and volleys of stones were thrown at Mr. Rudd's house, several panes of glass being broken.—*Irish Times*, Jan. 15.

January 14—Co. Clare.—Over forty bullocks, the property of Mr. Shawe-Taylor, were driven off a farm at Fahey Carron, also a large head

of cattle were driven off a farm held by Mr. S. O'Halloran, at Shessymore.—*Clare Champion*, Jan. 16.

January 16—Co. Cavan.—The *Belfast News Letter* reports that a few days ago a thatcher was employed by Captain Somerset Saunderson, Belturbet, to repair a house on his estate. The house was formerly in the possession of a man named Turbet, who vacated it, owing some rent, and the farm has since been derelict. It is alleged that notices were posted in the vicinity of the house threatening any person who would have anything to do with the repairs until the former tenant was restored, in consequence of this the thatcher refused to work. The police are investigating the matter.

January 17—Co. Galway.—A process server, named Michael O'Flaherty, belonging to Galway City, had to run a long distance to escape from a number of persons, who followed him when serving processes at a place called Loughgeorge, about eight miles from Galway. It appears that the visit of O'Flaherty was expected. When he made his appearance, he was met by a man who warned him not to proceed with the service of the processes. Acting on his statement, the police arrested a man, and brought him in a prisoner to Galway late in the evening. He was brought before Mr. Gardiner, R.M., and the information having been sworn against him by O'Flaherty, he was bound over, himself in £20 and two sureties in £10 each, to be of good behaviour.—*The Irish Times*, Jan. 18.

January 18—Churchtown, East Cork.—Michael Lynch, a process server, was set upon and kicked and badly beaten by some men unknown whilst engaged in the performance of his duties. No arrests have been made.—(*Belfast News Letter*, Jan. 20.)

January 19—Co. Galway.—Information received that a few days ago two men in disguise entered the house of a widow, Mrs. Coyne, at Balintemple, and demanded firearms. They searched the premises, and stole a gun. No arrests.—(*Dublin Daily Express*, Jan. 20.)

January 19—Co. Tipperary.—Excitement ran high in Thurles to-day while County Court Judge Moore sat to hear processes against thirty-six tenants on the Carden Estate, and twenty on Colonel Carden's estate, for non-payment of rent. Great numbers of people came into the town at an early hour; and at midday a band, followed by some thousands of people, marched through the principal street. One hundred and thirty extra policemen were drafted into the town, and a big body of these was posted near the Court-house. Judge Moore granted decrees in all the cases which came before him.—*The Times*, Jan. 20.

January 21—Co. Galway.—A division of land near Peterswell occasioned a disturbance between the tenants. The police intervened, and Police Sergeant Coghlan received a blow which fractured his skull. He lies in hospital in a precarious condition.—(*The Times*, Jan. 23.)

January 22—Co. Galway.—An outrage took place in the Craughwell district, when a policeman was shot and killed and two workmen were wounded.—(*The Times*, Jan. 23.)

EXTRACTS FROM IRISH-AMERICAN PAPERS.

The Union Defence League has lately published a number of "Elegant Extracts" from newspapers published in the United States, showing how hostile to Great Britain is the feeling of those in America—we doubt whether they are exclusively Irishmen—who fill the pockets of the Nationalist Parliamentary party with "alien" gold. A further series of quotations, duly verified, will be found below.

N.B.—British readers will be interested to know that the *Irish World* is the official organ of Mr. John Redmond and Co. in the United States. *The Gaelic American* represents Sinn Fein and the extremist party which does not disguise its desire for separation from England.

Extract from a letter by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet:—

"I was never more certain that Ireland must have Home Rule in the near future, since it has become a necessity for England's future prosperity. In addition a repeal of the Union must follow if Ireland is to have the management of her domestic affairs. Total separation from England at the present time is impossible, but with Home Rule and repeal of the Union, it is possible for Ireland to become again the most prosperous. The future must take care of itself."—*Irish World*, Dec. 19, 1908.

The Murderer not Forgotten.

"The Boer will never forget the appalling cruelties that were committed on women and children by British soldiers with the hearty approval of England. The ghastly monument of 22,000 of these victims of England's greed, calling to the Almighty God for vengeance, will always be a reminder to the sturdy Boer of England's attempt to exterminate his race by the most foul means in the history of warfare."—*The Irish World*, Dec. 19, 1908.

From the report of a meeting of the "Manchester Martyrs Memorial," held at Portland, Oregon, Nov. 23, 1908:—

"It was not until that fearless and independent young Soggarth Aroon, Rev. J. M. O. Farrell, tore away the masks of prejudice and ignorance that England has been wearing all over the world in order to hide from an impartial public her atrocious treatment of her (not by consent) Irish subjects. And when he said such gatherings as these do more to bring her to time than all lucre that could be possibly raised, as showing that Irish-Americans and Americans generally who love justice would never stop until they saw the last link that binds Ireland to England shattered to pieces. I will not attempt to describe the manner in which his remarks were received, but suffice it to say that the old Celtic spirit still lives and is very much in evidence out here in the west."—*The National Hibernian*, Dec. 15, 1908.

"The presence in the Pacific of the fleet which Admiral Sperry commands was a demonstration of the naval strength of the United States. That was the greatest benefit accruing from the cruise of our battleships. Incidentally they brought the New Zealanders

and the Australians in closer touch with us. But they did not contribute in any manner to the bringing about of that union between America and England which is the fondest desire of our Anglo-Maniac. In asserting that the American fleet has accomplished this, Rear-Admiral Sperry states what is not so."—*The Irish World*, Dec. 26, 1908.

England's False Promises to India.

"The loss of life in driving the English out of India could not be greater than the annual mortality from foreign-made plague and famine. But it is for the Indian people themselves to decide whether they prefer fighting to starving; also whether their *modus operandi* shall be the bomb, insurrection, or the boycott. But whichever they choose, we wish them a good deliverance from present oppression."—*The Gaelic American*, Dec. 26, 1908.



SPREADING ENGLISH "CIVILIZATION"

—From *The Irish World*, Jan. 2, 1909.

"It is to be hoped that the people of India, unlike the too-nomane Boers, will realise that in the conflict that is likely to ensue between a people long oppressed and the heartless oppressor, that

they will have to deal with an opponent that is on no higher plane than a mad dog—attacking, crunching, and destroying, regardless of sex or age—and it is to be hoped that the people of India will treat them accordingly. . . . English officials in India are robbers, sent there by England to plunder the poverty-stricken people. And moreover they are murderers. . . .

“The war that will be waged by England in India will be a war of cruel murder, with rapine for its object; General Kitchener, who will command the undertaking, has already an unrivalled record for cold-blooded murder, both in India and the Transvaal. The ‘pig-stickers’ who are under his command are as brutal and remorseless as he is.”—*The Irish World*, Dec. 26, 1908.

“The unscrupulous defenders of English rule in India take good care not to state the real cause of the agitation that is going on there at present. And that is, the systematic grinding down and extermination by the British Government of millions upon millions of natives, by the cruelest means imaginable—starvation. Just think of forty millions of God’s children starved to death to satisfy England’s lust in the last century!

“The most frightful destruction of human life Asia has seen since the bloody conquests of Jenghis Khan or Tamerlane is taking place yearly under England’s oppressive rule. That we should have to look back to the bloodiest pages of Asiatic history to find a parallel for what is occurring in a time of peace, is in itself a frightful indictment of England’s course in India.”—*The Irish World*, Jan. 2, 1909.

The Land Bill.

“The responsibility for the abandonment of the evicted tenants in Mr. Birrell’s new Land Bill is placed on the shoulders of Mr. John Redmond by the evicted tenants themselves. All over Ireland they are speaking out, but the organs of the Irish party suppress their protests as far as they are able. The press censorship exercised by the Irish party is more effective and infinitely meaner than that exercised by the Government of Russia, and it has been carried out heretofore by the expenditure of money collected in America and Australia for the prosecution of an alleged campaign of Home Rule. As the supply of American money has now dwindled to insignificant proportions, the grip of censorship is loosening and the truth is leaking out, even among the farmers.”—*The Gaelic American*, Dec. 19, 1908.

From *Southern Cross*, Buenos Aires:—

“We said quite recently that the trend of political thought in Ireland is towards the clear issue of Independence, or the English connection, and that Home Rule as an issue is dying. Home Rule as an active principle received its death blow when, in the debate on the address this year in Westminster, Mr. John Redmond and the Irish party accepted the amendment ‘subject to the supreme control of the Imperial Parliament.’

“As time goes on, most of the present Home Rulers will become Nationalists—that is to say, they will stand for independence. A few may join the Unionists, not many of the Unionists will have

gone over to the Nationalists. Once the thought of Ireland is cleared of confusing issues, the march of Nationalism to victory is assured. Meanwhile the Irish spirit is increasing both at home and abroad. People who were hostile or indifferent to Irish issues are now showing an ardour that is encouraging. We see people who were declared West-Britons now demanding Home Rule; and if the Sinn Feiners were to move forward to-morrow towards the old policy of physical force, the new Home Rulers would step into the positions from which the Sinn Feiners had advanced.

"In the United States Nationalist feeling among Irish people has increased greatly of late, and although the mission of Mr. Redmond is a comparative failure, despite all the optimistic exaggerations which we hear about it, the Irish Societies from New York to San Francisco are organising upon a more positive Nationalist basis than has been possible for years. Thus day by day comes the reward to those who have kept the old faith of sovereign independence intact. The men who work and think for a free Ireland are those who keep the Irish cause alive. They make the pace in Irish political thought. Their advance pulls on the others."—*The Gaelic American*, Dec. 26, 1908.

Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., at a reception held at Limerick Junction, on December 13, on his return from America, said:—

"He had come back from America moved and inspired by what he had seen in that mighty land. There he saw the hunted Celts and the descendants of the hunted Celts rising up with a vengeance to help Ireland, depleted of its population, robbed of its industries, arrested in its enterprises; but Ireland, strong, firm, and unalterable in its determination as ever it was to win back from England the constitution of freedom robbed from her a century ago. Ireland in America stood by Ireland at home; Ireland in America would ever stand by Ireland at home, as long as Ireland at home deserved her aid and assistance by preserving unsullied the banner of a free, independent Ireland, by never allowing the flag of Home Rule to be torn down, by clinging unitedly and solidly together around that flag, and determined that no man, or set of men would ever break the strong and solid ranks of a united Ireland struggling to be free. . . ."—*The Irish World*, Jan. 2, 1909.

MR. CLARKE OF HOLYCROSS.

By IAN MALCOLM.

A few days before Christmas I chanced to meet in London a lady who was just returning to Ireland for her schoolboy's holiday. She was the wife of Mr. Clarke, of Holycross, in Co. Tipperary, a gentleman who is the object of all the malice and evil which the United Irish League can bring to bear against him. The story of persecution which she told me was written down by me at the time, and it has since been vouched for by Mr. Clarke himself; thus verified, I publish it for the information

of those who think that the bad state of Ireland is being horribly exaggerated for political ends.

This Mr. Clarke owns a place called Graiguenoe Park, near Holycross; now it consists of a house and 1,000 acres, but it was much bigger before he sold to his tenants three years ago. However, the League now wants his Home Farm as well to be split up among the people, and this is the reason of all the row. The League cannot call Mr. Clarke either an absentee or a useless landlord, seeing that he lives nine months of every year upon his estate, pays £1,000 a year in wages, and has over one hundred persons entirely dependent upon him for employment. Yet, such is the grudge borne against him by certain agitators for not dividing up his demesne land, this large employer of labour found the greatest difficulty in getting the use of a threshing engine at the beginning of the present winter. All the farmers round were afraid to go against the order of the League, and when at last an engine was procured, it was from a Protestant farmer who lived many miles away. This good fellow had to bring the engine over himself, as he could get no men to take it; even then he had to be escorted to Mr. Clarke's farm by armed policemen.

Let me give some account of Mr. Clarke's experiences during the past year, beginning in March, 1908, when the police brought an action for unlawful assembly against some men in the neighbourhood—a case which was first adjourned for three months and then dismissed. In July, a certain priest approached Mr. Clarke and asked if he would sell 200 acres of his Home Farm to the Commissioners, for distribution among the people. Mr. Clarke replied that three years ago he had sold to the tenants, **but had not yet been paid**; and he added that, when he had been paid in full for what he had already sold, he would sell 200 acres more, **on condition that he was left in peace**. The priest appeared to agree, and the subject dropped for some time. But in October the same priest wrote and informed Mr. Clarke that unless he sold the land at once there would be a recurrence of disturbances, but **in an aggravated form**; and, on another occasion, the priest intimated that, in order to satisfy the people, Mr. Clarke must prepare to surrender the greater portion of his Home Farm. Mr. Clarke referred to his answer in July, and added that if there were any disturbances he would withdraw his offer altogether.

Within a week of this answer the usual band-playing—the common form of annoyance—began again; crowds assembled near the gates and on Mr. Clarke's property, hooting him and his labourers, and they organised a torchlight procession of persons armed with pitchforks, &c., to march down the road near his house. This mob consisted chiefly of sons of well-to-do farmers, and numbered some 30 or 40 strong; they carried on in this way within 300 yards of the police barracks, defying and insulting the constabulary. In consequence of all this, the police brought an action against several men whom they declared to be a terror to the neighbourhood, and subsequently they got an order from headquarters to arrest ten men in their beds. Eight of these were bound over at Cashel under heavy bail, but they preferred to go to gaol. Now, as soon as the fact of these arrests was made known **the chapel bell was rung for three or four hours** to assemble the crowds with their bands to march to Cashel and to demonstrate. When they got to Cashel **two priests** addressed them, bade them keep up heart, and told the prisoners to bear their chains with pride.

On the same afternoon, November 17, Mr. and Mrs. Clarke were entertaining a party of friends. Their guests, on arrival, told them that they had passed through large crowds who howled and jeered at them, seeming greatly excited. At 5.30 p.m. bands were heard approaching, accompanied by a mob of some 300 people, all yelling and hooting; they had brushed aside the few policemen who had tried to stop them at the entrance to the avenue, and were now marching upon the house itself. Missiles were flung at every window in which a light was to be seen, large stones crashed into the room wherein the guests were assembled, the hall door was battered and hammered by kicks and sticks, one constable got his head cut open. The next day Mr. Clarke sent a messenger into the neighbouring town of Thurles to make a few purchases; he was followed by a boycotting picket, after whom walked a policeman. The messenger was unmolested; **no word was spoken** by the picket to the shop-keepers, but signals were made and understood, and the tradesmen refused to supply any goods whatever. Then, on the following morning again, Mr. Clarke sent two carts, under police protection, into the same town to be filled with coal. The coal merchant, Sutton by name, refused to deal, and the carts returned empty; the boycott was such that Mr. Clarke could not even get a horse shod for 10 miles round.

In consequence of this serious state of things 40 police, with a District Inspector in charge, were sent down to Holycross, and early on November 23 eight ringleaders of the mob which attacked the house were arrested, and Mr. Clarke, with an armed escort of police, went to Cashel to give evidence. Once more **the chapel bell rang for three hours**, a large crowd assembled and marched to Cashel, where they fusilladed the police barracks with stones. The mob grew in dimensions as the trial proceeded, several hundreds of people howling and demonstrating in the streets, whilst a force of 300 policemen, with 10 District Inspectors, attempted to keep order. The prisoners were committed to Cork Assizes, where they were **found guilty, bound over to keep the peace for £10 each, and set free the same day, being provided with return tickets and refreshments at the expense of the Crown!**

Of course this ridiculous sentence was acclaimed as a victory by the mob, who cheered the prisoners and demonstrated violently against Mr. Clarke, who, even with his armed escort, could scarcely gain his carriage to drive home. In the evening bonfires were lighted and all the windows in Thurles were illuminated to celebrate the triumph of mob law; and on December 6 a United Irish League meeting was held near Holycross, where Father Dunne, of Cashel, and Father Bannon, of Thurles, made speeches against Mr. Clarke, and urged the people to keep up the agitation.

That is the story of Mr. Clarke, as the New Year finds it; it is the story, with changes of names and of details, of hundreds of people in Ireland far less able to protect themselves than is Mr. Clarke, of Holycross. It is the story of a cowardly League, aided and abetted by a cowardly executive, which is breaking the spirit of every decent man, is losing the confidence of the magistrates and constabulary alike, is driving capital and capitalists out of the country, and is ruining the land which it is paid to rule.

MR. BIRRELL AND AN IRISH FARMER.

The subjoined letters from Mr. Robert Geelan, of Newtownforbes should shed a flood of light upon the plight in which many members of the farming class in Ireland find themselves at the present day. The first letter is a true copy of a document sent to the Chief Secretary by this long-suffering farmer. It was forwarded to the Secretary of the Union Defence League late in December quite unsolicited—for he had never seen or corresponded with Mr. Geelan—to show that Mr. Birrell is kept in full possession of the petty tyrannies to which Loyalists are subjected under his rule. On receipt of this communication, Mr. Malcolm asked for permission to make its contents known to the public in England, whose ignorance of Irish affairs is far greater than it should be. The second letter is Mr. Geelan's reply.

Currygranny House,
Newtownforbes, Co. Longford.
November 23rd, 1908.

To the Rt. Hon. Mr. Birrell, Chief Secretary, Dublin Castle.

SIR,—

I beg leave to call your attention to my case a second time. My case was presented to the Attorney-General for Ireland once before now.

I have been persecuted by the United Irish League for the past fifteen months, for the only reason that I would not join or pay to the U.I.L. Early in September, 1907, a party of young Leaguers, or ruffians, called on me twice at my house and asked me to take a United Irish League ticket and to pay to the League Defence Fund. I refused them owing to my political and religious belief, I being a Unionist and a member of the Church of Ireland. Those young Leaguers are the sons of small farmers living in the district, holding only four or five acres of land; they have no stake in the country, they pay no rent or taxes, and yet they are allowed to annoy decent, honest farmers and shopkeepers. When I refused those young Leaguers, they, at their next meeting at their League rooms in Newtownforbes, passed a resolution condemning my action as a traitor to their cause; this resolution was published in the Longford Leader, a paper owned by J. P. Farrell, M.P. They also condemned any of my neighbours or traders in the district if they supplied me with goods or anything else. My name has been almost mentioned every other week in the Leader and sent broadcast through the country for no reason only to blacken me, and to do me harm in the country. My help all left me, my brothers were boycotted because they called at my house to assist me. I was prohibited from calling on a Protestant neighbour because he was a poor man, and depending upon the League. I cannot buy or sell cattle in Longford or any of the local towns. I am followed about by the spies employed by the League to

watch me. I am hooted by the Leaguers when they meet me. I am looked upon by the same crowd as a criminal. Last week my name was brought before the League meeting at Longford, J. P. Farrell, M.P., being present, when a man the name of Nevan, and a man named Cooney, had to go before the League and apologise—the former because he bought apples from me, and the latter because he sold me some cattle. Mr. Birrell, I beg leave to call your attention specially to this man John Thompson, who brought my name before the League to blacken me before the people, and to do me harm, and also Mr. J. P. Farrell, for publishing my name in his paper, after him being warned by Mr. Hurst, District Inspector, R.I.C., not to publish resolutions or names in his paper. It is a dreadful thing that my name is allowed to be printed in a paper and spread broadcast through the country to blacken me and do me harm with the people. My life is not safe owing to those publications in the public press. Again I beg leave to call your attention to the action of a Magistrate, Mr. Tobias Peyton, The Hermitage, Newtownforbes, Co. Longford, he has refused to allow a bull—his property and under the Department of Agriculture—to serve my cows because I have been boycotted, his action done me a great deal of harm in the country. I reported him to the Department and had his premium cancelled; he then sued the County Council and the County Committee of Longford for £15 the amount of premium, but honest Judge Curren dismissed the case and censured Mr. Peyton for his action. I wish to point out to you the action of the County Council and the County Committee; owing to the majority of them being Leaguers, they never called a witness against Mr. Peyton, for they wished that he should get the £15 premium. I should have been the principal witness against him; I thought it very unfair on the part of Mr. Thos. Delany, Crown Solicitor of Longford, not to call me as a witness against Peyton, he being Chairman of the County Committee and Vice-Chairman of the County Council. I respectfully ask you to inquire into the case of Mr. Peyton, J.P., and Mr. Delany, C.S. I ask you to report Mr. Peyton to the Lord Chancellor and have him dismissed from the Commission of the Peace for Co. Longford. I have reported my case to the Attorney-General for Ireland, some time ago, but he took no action in the matter.

A gentleman and a D.L. from Co. Fermanagh presented my case to you, but it did not benefit me in any way. Now, Sir, you have my case, my report and my complaint, and I hope it will have your attention. I am a large farmer in this district, and I pay a large amount of taxes. I am a respectable subject of the King, and I expect protection by the law. I respectfully ask you what you intend to do with me in the future. Will you allow me to live in this country and protect me, or will you leave me and my property to the mercy of the United Irish League? Will you allow me the liberty to sell my cattle in the next fair of Longford, or will you pay freight or carriage on them for me to the market in Dublin, or England? The whole matter is in your hands. I respectfully ask a direct answer from you as well as an acknowledgment.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed)

ROBERT GEELAN.

To the Rt. Hon. Mr. Birrell,
Chief Secretary, Dublin Castle.

Currygranny House,
 Newtownforbes, Co. Longford.
 December 26th, 1908.

To Mr. Ian Malcolm, Union Defence League, London.

DEAR SIR,—

I have your letter of the 22nd instant, asking if you might use my letter to let the English people know how we Protestants and Loyalists are treated in this part of Ireland. You may make it as public as ever you can. I hope the English people will take notice of how we are treated over here. Every word in that letter is true, for I have sworn an affidavit in connection with it in the prosecution of J. P. Farrell, M.P. for North Longford, who was sent to prison for six months from the King's Bench, Dublin. The people of England do not know how we Unionists are treated over here. When an Irish Nationalist M.P. is speaking over in England he plays a different tune altogether. They are lambs when they are over in England, but they are tigers when they are here at home.

A Happy New Year to you.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed)

ROBERT GEELAN.

WINTER ASSIZES IN IRELAND.

Note by "J. P."

The Winter Assizes for the four Provinces of Ireland were held in December: that for Leinster being opened in Dublin, for Ulster in Belfast, for Munster in Cork, and for Connaught in Limerick.

In Leinster, there were three cases of homicide, which were not to be attributed to any general disturbance or dislocation of order.

The cases heard in Ulster were generally of the ordinary type, though there was one case of boycotting from the County Fermanagh, in which two persons were found guilty of conspiracy and sentenced to four months' imprisonment each.

In Munster, though Mr. Justice Johnston in his charge to the Grand Jury commented on the general prevalence of crime, the cases for trial were neither numerous nor of a particularly dangerous character; we except the charge against the Holycross rioters, who, on conviction, were released by the Judge on their own recognisances to come up for judgment when called on.

At the Connaught Assizes, held in Limerick, there were 22 serious cases tried, involving charges against 62 persons. Of these, the juries convicted in 14 cases, and 40 persons were thus brought to justice on various charges arising more or less out of the disturbed condition of the Western Counties. It is not easy to estimate how far this very satisfactory result is to be attributed to the alarm of reasonable people at the rapid spread of outrage and intimidation in counties like Clare, Sligo, and Roscommon, or to the judicious action of the Crown Solicitors in selecting independent and honest jurymen. Nevertheless, we must be grateful for the result, however it was attained, and trust that it may have a good effect in checking the spread of disorder.

Numerous as these Assize cases were, and serious as were the charges made against the prisoners, they represent but a very small percentage on the actual crime committed. In Clare alone, from which three cases only were sent, no less than **123 serious outrages** have been reported by the police since the last Assizes. In Sligo, the number reported was 29, yet but one solitary case was brought to trial. Amongst the offences for which prisoners were placed in the dock, were murders, manslaughters, attempts to murder, serious assaults, arsons, riots and unlawful assemblies and Whiteboy offences.

No prisoner was convicted of the capital offence, though, in two cases of manslaughter, sentences of penal servitude were passed, one for life and the other for seven years. In the majority of the serious offences against the person, the crimes were committed by firearms, and these cases afforded evidence of the rapid spread of the use of these weapons since the lapse of the Arms Act under the present Government. In the charges of riot and unlawful assembly, arising out of the cattle-

driving epidemic or other agrarian agitation, a number of persons from the Counties of Roscommon and Sligo were convicted and sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from three to six months.

In his charge to the Grand Jury, Mr. Justice Kenny pointed out that these cases could have been promptly and effectually dealt with under the ordinary law of the land by two Resident Magistrates, instead of using the cumbrous and dilatory method of trial by jury, or by what the Judge justly stigmatised as the "futile" procedure of binding to the peace. This Judge paid a well-deserved tribute to the impartiality and independence of the Limerick jurors, who discharged their duty without fear, favour, or affection—a most welcome and unusual departure from the customary procedure at Irish Assizes when agrarian or political issues are at stake; yet it is much to be feared that the wave of disorder has gathered such force that these few convictions will have little or no effect.

The proceedings at Assizes are too dilatory and uncertain to intimidate evildoers in the disturbed areas. Prompt action is needed, and this can alone be secured by the swift operation of the Crimes Act. Unevenness in the administration of the law has a disastrous effect, and the prisoners sentenced at these Assizes to imprisonment with hard labour for offences the perpetrators of which have in other cases got off scot free under rules of bail, must feel a very justifiable sense of injustice.

THE MYSTERIES OF IRISH CONGESTION.

By "Pat."

I.

With about £20,000,000 of increased taxation already needed, the Government are about to ask the taxpayer for a great increase towards Congestion in Ireland, and at least two questions ought to be carefully considered—What has been done with the Congestion money voted up to the present? and, How do the Government propose to secure better results in the future?

The members of the Royal Commission on Congestion are not unanimous in much, and their recommendations of value are only in "Minutes of dissent," but they agree that the past expenditure has left the Congestion problem practically untouched, a matter of fact about which they could not well differ. It was a specific part of their duty to ascertain the causes of the failure, but they tried hard to exclude evidence as to this, and when it was given in spite of them they insulted those giving it. I am stating these strange facts from direct personal knowledge, with documentary proofs. The whole of the Commissioners did not behave in this way, but those did who were under ecclesiastical direction, and the "findings" show that they have been strong enough to impose their policy on the Government.

The case of John Ivors, of Kiltimagh, Co. Mayo, shows how the money has been spent. John is finally "cured" of Congestion, with his land "striped" and a new house built for him by the State, but his "farm" is such that his only cow has to be grazed for six months of the year with a neighbour, which costs more than the interest and sinking fund in respect of house and farm. These together are 14s. 4d. a year, the local taxes 10s., and *the rescued man says he is worse than before*, living up to the new dignities of a Government house on a somewhat reduced income. His total production from the farm is not £15 a year. His neighbours are "settled" on a similar footing. The expenditure has been simply to fix Congestion, and "keep the money in the parish," with the clergy preventing migration to keep up collections. The Royal Commissioners were in a state of angry alarm when documentary proof of this was put in evidence in spite of them. John Ivor's parish priest is a distinguished member of the Congested Districts Board, and we cannot expect better in worse parishes.

The estate at Kiltimagh was a small one, but representative. Near it we have the Dillon Estate, one of the largest in Ireland, now "finally settled" by the Board, but practically no migration has taken place, and Congestion remains almost as complete as before, with the money spent, as in the case of Ivor's, and the priests practically presiding over the expenditure. The "farmers" on the Dillon Estate still go to England and Scotland as harvestmen or migrating labourers, yet this estate was to be the "model" of the Board's beneficence, and it was bought at thirteen years' purchase, making the problem easier by seven years' purchase

than it could be now. Probably never again will such a large estate be bought at thirteen years' purchase in Congestion or out of it.

To "keep the people in the parish" money has been spent on "industries," such as lace making, and I find a levy on the poor earnings for the clerical income. A fourth of building costs has been given to peasants for improvements, and there has been a rule that one must not get a grant twice with others waiting; but some have got it four times, and *they get most who give most of it back to the priests*. This system has been known as "The Parish Committee Scheme," practically under the sole control of the clergy, and the reverend gentlemen giving evidence before the Commissioners were very strong in their demand for "more money to the Parish Committees." Lord Dudley and Lord MacDonnell are unanimous and emphatic in their denial of any real success from the expenditure on such industries as I have mentioned, but the system has the merit of getting money from the British taxpayer into the pockets of Irish priests, while Congestion is practically ignored after sixteen years' expenditure on it by the Treasury. That is how the money has gone in the past; and now as to the future.

By way of amendment, it is proposed to put on the Board nine nominees of County Councils in Congestion; probably nine cattle drivers of the superior sort, organisers of agrarian crime, who must either obey their ecclesiastics on the Board, or run the risk of losing their places. As the Board already includes two of these ecclesiastics, their nine allies would make virtually eleven of them, who might as well be eleven agents appointed by the Pope to spend British money in Ireland in the ecclesiastical interest. It was mainly because of these methods that a Commission of Inquiry became necessary, and it was to keep out the light from these methods that such desperate efforts were made to exclude evidence and to intimidate witnesses. "*Keep the money in the parishes*" is the first rule, which means that the people must not be taken out of the parish to relieve Congestion; and the British taxpayer, kept ignorant of the facts, must pay, pay, pay. While Congestion "brings money into the parish," why should the priest want an end of Congestion? His income is higher in Congestion than out of it, and the Congested Districts, where the standard of intelligence is low, are the great priest producers of Ireland; a fact which will not escape the knowledge of those at Rome, who depend so largely on Ireland's production of surplus priests for foreign countries, where people prosper and have something else to do for their lads:

The nine clericalised cattle-driving statesmen are to represent "popular opinion" on the New Board, as if there were any beyond clerical opinion to consider; but to save the Board's purse from these new statesmen there is to be a kind of finance Committee as an inner circle or Second Chamber. The idea is distinctly clever, probably Mr. Birrell's, at once increasing the power of the ecclesiastics to pass resolutions, and diminishing their power to spend the money on themselves. In addition, the evidence given in spite of the Royal Commission has proved so strong that the "*Parish Committee*" traffic is to be dropped. This and the Second Chamber may stop the ecclesiastical squandering for a time, but, on the other hand, unless the priests have their fingers in the purse, they may get "the people" to denounce the Board, and the solution of the problem is as far off as ever. It was to stop such denunciation, that the ecclesi-

astics were invited to control the Board's business in the first instance, and the choice is still between the two evils of ecclesiastical misappropriation and ecclesiastical opposition. From the start this Board has been a most strange institution, "voluntary and semi-philanthropic" in its constitution, thereby free from responsibility to the State, and yet authorised to spend the taxes as it pleased. The new proposals involve no change either in constitution or responsibility. Is it not plain that Congestion cannot be removed on present lines, and that being so, why permit the Government to spend the money?

Now, apart from all the causes I have detailed, there is one which, by itself, is enough to make expenditure on Congestion useless through any scheme yet tried or proposed; the agricultural inefficiency of the Congested peasant makes his position impossible on the land to be acquired for him; that is, his efficiency must be raised by education, or the landlord confiscated, to accommodate the inefficiency. The more ignorant the peasant the less he can make of the land, and the less he can make of the land, the smaller the purchase price and annuity he can undertake. *Either the peasant must work up by education, or the price of land must work down by agitation and crime* before the Congests can be put on new land. Highly organised and very expensive effort has already been expended on both purposes to intimidate the landlord through the League, and to instruct the peasant through the Agriculture Department, with experts of both orders continually co-operating to make the land cheap, and the peasant skilful; yet, after twelve years of the one panacea and fifty years of the other, an institution specially chartered and generously financed to relieve Congestion finds itself unable to plant Congests on grass land, and most of the few planted experimentally, on terms more favourable than can be repeated, are sorry for having left Congestion. The intimidation and other crimes, organised to cheapen the land, can hardly be expected to succeed more than they have done, even with such a "sympathetic Government" as the present, and the excellent work of the Agriculture Department remains unproductive, while primary education, under the control of the priests, keeps the peasants incapable to understand the agricultural teaching, which is also at the expense of the taxpayer. So far, the experts in crime have been much more successful than the others, for it is easier to teach cattle-driving and thieving than the chemistry and botany of agriculture; and the clergy do not manage the schools to put down crime as they do to put down more useful branches of Irish education. If the priests put down crime, the Government would not want them in control, but if they were not in control, they could not have their hands in the purse. So does it come about that the crime organised by the League, with the priests at its head and a Bishop as its treasurer, is necessary to the commanding position now enjoyed by the clergy, who might be set aside by the Government if the people began to respect the law. The reverend gentlemen take care against being set aside. They are not only in a position to turn the taxpayers' money from the Board into their own pockets, but also to direct persecutions by the Government against their political opponents.

The quantity and quality of crime organised by the experts have not been enough to keep down the price of land, notwithstanding the "sympathy" of the Government, and it has risen by six years' purchase in five years, encouraged by the example of Mr. John Redmond, "the leader of the Irish race," who got twenty-four and a half years' purchase

when sellers generally were getting less than twenty. "Why not make a subscription for Mr. Redmond instead?" asked Mr. Davitt. An immediate rise followed Mr. Redmond's transaction, so we get *the League organising crime to keep down prices*, and the leader of the League organising in his own interests to put them up. This is how crime becomes necessary to the operation of the law: in a free market, with prices unrestrained by crime, the peasants could not purchase; and, with their education controlled by the priests, they cannot develop the efficiency that would enable them to face the higher prices and have a better margin to live than they have now. Without crime the whole land law system becomes inoperative in so far as purchase is concerned, and accordingly the present Government refuses to punish the criminals. With such statutory and administrative encouragement to crime, is it not most unfair to call the Irish a criminal people? In the circumstances created for them by law and Government, how could any people help being criminal? Efficiency would enable the peasant to pay the honest price of land in a free market, and live much better than he lives now; but education is essential to efficiency, and the priest has his foot on education, which keeps the people as they are, though those attending school cost as much per head as in Scotland. So much as to land purchase in general, and now as to land purchase for Congestion.

Contrary to experience elsewhere in civilisation, the absence of people on the land increases its market price in Ireland, and accordingly the grass land has risen more than the tenanted, not to mention that it was higher before the rise led by Mr. Redmond. In a free market, without organised crime, the owner of grass land, while retaining fee simple, can sell the tenant's interest for eighteen to twenty years' purchase; but this is not often done, because there is no really free market, and because the presence of tenants has the immediate effect of reducing the market price for fee simple. Where the sale of both interests can be arranged concurrently, as in the Duke of Abercorn's case, the joint total comes to forty years' purchase or more, even in spite of crime; and that is what the congested migrant has to face, which makes his position impossible, unless his education is permitted or the landlord confiscated.

If they have failed to relieve congestion on the Dillon estate, the great "Model," bought at thirteen years' purchase, how can they do it on land at forty years' purchase; and what if Mr. Long, or some other honest man, should come again as Chief Secretary, making the land laws unworkable by stopping crime?

The Dillon estate had not enough grass land to accommodate its own congestion, but that was a ground for success on such grass land as there was, in view of the very low price; but the few migrants complain that they are not appreciably better than before. It is because they are ignorant of agriculture.

Since the same natural quality of land, under beasts, is worth 40 to 50 per cent. more than under tenants, it follows that the migrant must pay annuities 40 to 50 per cent. increased, assuming honest business, so that he is really at a great disadvantage, per acre, as compared with remaining in congestion. The hope against that is in the larger area enabling him to follow better methods of farming; but the teaching experience of the Agriculture Department shows that he is incapable of this, because his primary education makes him incapable to learn.

Instead of dealing with his primary education, the Government propose compulsory purchase! We all know that the agrarians demand compulsion because they expect it to confiscate the landlord, and that the Government concede it because they depend on the agrarians to keep in office. In other words, the British Government propose to confiscate private property, and dare not touch the clerical traffic in education, which keeps the peasantry incapable either to hold or to acquire land at its honest value. Well, if I may venture an opinion, it cannot be done—unless by some such plan as vesting the whole function of arbitration for compulsory purchase in the Episcopal treasurer of the League.

A common mistake on the part of British statesmen is in forgetting that the Irish congested peasant is really a poor kind of labourer, uneducated even at that, and quite incapable to deal with the larger scale of a proper farm, which frightens him whenever it is proposed. Allowing its full financial value to organised crime, it still requires about £2,000 to provide and capitalise a suitable farm for an average family of congests; but this means fixed charges of £60 to £70, which cannot be met by a man who can work only with a spade and whose agricultural knowledge is very primitive.

The whole business is very complex, but at least this is plain: In congestion, or out of it, *the Irish peasant must be educated to his work before he can deal with land successfully*, either as an occupier or a purchaser; and so long as the owner of land can make more of it by beasts than by peasants, the economic tendency is distinctly towards grass, a tendency which has held its way in triumph to this hour against all co-operation between crimes and Statutes.

What, then, must we say of a Royal Commission who, after long inquiry at great expense, make a report which practically ignores the fundamental bearing of education on congestion; and what of a Government who, in duty bound to know it beforehand, proceed to legislate and to expend more of the taxes on the recommendations of such a preposterous report? Even in his minutes of dissent, Lord MacDonnell merely mentions the education factor. The Bishop says more about it, but also by way of dissent. Sir John Colomb writes about it cleverly, but between the lines. In the direct official recommendations, it has no part among the data of judgment. Yet to a man the lay members of the Commission, and the statesmen legislating after them, must see that *there is no real solution apart from education*. Could anything so clearly illustrate how the ecclesiastic, in pursuit of his own power and privilege, stands in the way of every attempt to set Ireland on the march of progress with the rest of the civilised world? It is not conceivable in reason that those able and honest laymen could ignore a factor so obvious and so fundamental in a problem of such importance were it not for the ecclesiastical restraints under which they had to make their inquiries and to publish the results.

IRISH DIARY.

1908.

December 29.—Letter from Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., to Mr. J. P. Farrell, M.P., on the latter's imprisonment.

1909.

January 4.—Letter to *The Times* by Mr. J. G. Swift-Macneil, M.P., on "The condition of Ireland."

January 6.—Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., at Aughnacloy.

January 7-8.—Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., at Belfast.

January 9.—Mr. R. B. Haldane, M.P., at Cockenzie, N.B., on Irish affairs.

January 11.—Letter from Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., to the Rev. Father Finegar, on the new Land Bill.

January 13.—Letter to *The Times* by Mr. R. G. Carden, Secretary Irish Unionist Alliance, on "Mr. Redmond and Separation."

January 13.—Sir A. Acland-Hood, M.P., at Bridgewater, on Irish affairs.

January 15.—Sir E. H. Carson, M.P., at Retford, on Irish affairs.

WITH PHOTOGRAPHIC SUPPLEMENT.

IRISH FACTS.

MARCH, 1909.

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Vol. 3.—No. 3.]

[MARCH, 1909.

CURRENT NOTES.

Ireland under Two Governments.

The following is a revised and up-to-date comparison of the condition of Ireland under the rule of Unionist and Radical Governments :—

The UNIONIST Record.

Persons boycotted (Nov. 30)	
1905	162
Persons under police protection (Jan. 31)	
1906	208
Firing at persons (agrarian)	
1905	2
Firing into houses (agrarian)	
1905	9
Firing at persons (non-agrarian)	
1905	9
Firing into houses (non-agrarian)	
1905	9
Cattle-drives	
1905	None
Agrarian outrages	
1905	279

The RADICAL Record.

Persons boycotted (Jan. 31)	
1909	874
Persons under police protection (Jan. 31)	
1909	335
Firing at persons (agrarian)	
1908	15
Firing into houses (agrarian)	
1908	66
Firing at persons (non-agrarian)	
1908	28
Firing into houses (non-agrarian)	
1908	23
Cattle-drives	
1908	681
Agrarian outrages	
1908	576

The Two Irelands.

I.—Ireland two months after ten years of Unionist rule.

"This is a moment of tranquility, of peace, and of comparative well-settled order. Seize the precious opportunity—seize it while you can."—Mr. Bryce, Chief Secretary, House of Commons, February 21, 1906.

II.—Ireland after three years of Radical Rule.

"I am not going to palliate or minimise the deplorable state of things which exists in some parts of Ireland. I and my colleagues would be false to our duty and false to our real opinions if we did anything of the kind. I quite admit that there are going on in some parts of Ireland things which are reprehensible, which ought to be put down, which public opinion ought to condemn, and which, so far as the arm of the law is strong enough to reach them, the arm of the law ought never to be slack in reaching and preventing."—Mr. Asquith, House of Commons, February 16, 1909.

Back to 1889.

Replying to Mr. Lonsdale (February 19) Mr. Birrell said:—

"The last year in which the number of agrarian offences approximated closely to the number in 1908 was 1889. The following tabular statement shows the number of agrarian outrages in each of the years 1889, 1906, 1907, and 1908, and the number of threatening letters and notices included therein:—

Period.	Threatening letters and notices.	Other offences.	Total.
1889	194	340	534
1906	105	129	234
1907	182	190	372
1908	233	343	576

Shooting Outrages.

Period.	Firing at the person.		Firing into dwelling.	
	Agrarian.	Not agrarian.	Agrarian.	Not agrarian.
1905	2	9	9	9
1906	3	16	9	11
1907	9	18	40	20
1908	15	28	66	23

Shooting Outrages—*continued.*

Period.	Indictable offences in which firearms were used.		Total.
	Agrarian.	Non-agrarian.	
1905	22	31	53
1906	23	37	60
1907	61	56	117
1908	135	71	206

From the above figures supplied by Mr. Birrell the large increase in shooting outrages—agrarian and non-agrarian—will be noted since Mr. Bryce allowed the Arms Act to lapse at the end of 1906.

One would have thought that the Government would have taken some steps to put down this noxious form of crime by introducing some legislation regulating the traffic in firearms. Replying, however, to a question by Mr. Lonsdale, who asked “whether, having regard to the increase in the number of shooting outrages, he intends to introduce, during this Session, legislation to empower the executive to impose restrictions upon the sale and the possession of firearms” (February 18), Mr. Birrell said that :

“The Government have no present intention of introducing during the present Session legislation of the character indicated in the question.”

Cruelty to Cattle.

Replying to Mr. Lonsdale (February 19), Mr. Birrell said that it was not possible to say in how many cases injury has been caused to animals by cattle-driving, save in so far as such cases have been made the subject of claims for compensation. Fifteen such claims were made in 1907, of which 10 were granted and five withdrawn, while in 1908 there were 114 claims, of which 76 were granted, 31 were dropped, two were dismissed, and five are pending.

In 1907 and 1908 such claims were as follows:—

1907.							
Claims made	..	..	15	Granted ..	..	..	10
				Withdrawn	..	..	5
				Total	..	..	15
1908.							
Claims made	..	..	114	Granted ..	..	..	76
				Dropped ..	..	..	31
				Dismissed	..	..	2
				Pending ..	..	..	5
				Total	..	..	114

Cattle-drives.

Replying to Mr. Lonsdale, Mr. Birrell (February 18) said that there had been 681 cattle-drives during 1908, and that proceedings were instituted in respect of 102 of these.

In all 1,091 cattle-drives have taken place up to January 31, 1909, and proceedings have been taken in 187 cases.

The Cost of Disorder.

Replying to Mr. Lonsdale (February 19), who asked the total amount claimed from local authorities in Ireland in respect of extra police for the half-years ended 31st March, 1908, and 30th September, 1908, Mr. Birrell gave the following figures:—

			£	s.	d.
Half-year ended March 31, 1908	..	..	8,508	7	6
Half-year ended September 30, 1908	..	..	11,497	2	2
Total (12 months)			£20,005	9	8

This £20,000 does not represent the whole cost of disorder. Additional burdens are imposed on the Irish ratepayers in respect of the cost of conveyance of prisoners, and malicious injury awards.

The Cost of Birrellism.

Galway is experiencing the heavy cost of Birrellism. At a meeting of the County Council on January 26, a bill was presented for extra police for the twelve months ending September, 1908. For the half-year ending March 31, 1908, the charge was £3,000, for the following six months, £5,000—making a total of £8,000 for the year.

Help for the Persecuted.

We understand that the Emergency Committee of the Grand Orange Lodge, Ireland, have already collected more than £2,000 towards assisting the victims of the United Irish League's tyranny and Mr. Birrell's apathy in the south and west of Ireland, and that 150 Loyalists have volunteered to give their services, if necessary, for the protection of these people.

The Lord of Mis-Rule.

(SINGS.)

There is a happy land
Not far away,
Where I've an office grand,
With splendid pay.
In it there's always peace
(Though all sorts of crime increase
And they murder my police),
Therefore I'm gay.

All men are bound—alack !—
 Their grief to cloke.
 That's why I always crack
 My little joke.
 That's why they cattle-drive,
 Outrage keeps a League alive,
 Fearless of gaol or gyve,
 Though Carrions croak.

Why should not young and old
 Shoot—who's afraid ?
 So, let firearms be sold
 (All German-made).
 I don't care where they aim,
 Let them menace, miss, or maim ;
 It's Sport ; and at the same
 Time good for trade.

Who'd stop their funning ? Not
 Soft-hearted A * *
 Though ample power I've got
 To say them nay.
 But, when a change I see,
 And they take to threatening *me*,
 Then, precious soon, I'll be
 Far, far away.

—QUIS.

Murder.

With shame and sorrow we have to report the murder of Police-Constable Goldrick at Craughwell, Co. Galway, on January 22. This officer was on duty, protecting the workmen engaged on mending a wall for a boycotted tenant on the Clanricarde estate. Suddenly shots were fired from some trees and two workmen were wounded. The constable ran in the direction whence the sound had come, but was almost immediately killed by another shot, which entered his left breast from a few yards range. It may be remembered that some 18 months ago the same tenant, Mrs. Ryan, had a narrow escape from a similar fate when she was fired upon and wounded in the face on leaving Craughwell Station.

The Craughwell Case.

The King has sent the following message through Lord Knollys to the Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, to be conveyed to Mr. Michael Goldrick, father of the late Constable Martin Goldrick :

“ Will you convey from the King to the family of the late Constable

Goldrick, who was recently murdered in Galway, an expression of His Majesty's deep concern for his death and his sincere sympathy with them in their affliction.

“KNOLLYS.”

The Story of the Crime.

From the *Irish Times* (January 25) we take the following report of the inquest on the murdered constable:—

Shortly after 11 o'clock on Saturday morning Dr. Crowley, J.P., Coroner for South County Galway, held an inquest at the Craughwell National Schools on the remains of the deceased constable.

County Inspector Smith and District Inspector Leatham, of Athenry, were present.

The principal witnesses were the two emergency men, Patrick Coady and Patrick Malone, whom the deceased was protecting when he lost his life. Coady had a huge bandage over his head, which merely left his features visible. He seemed to be quite dazed, and so unable was he during his evidence to concentrate his attention that a question had often to be repeated to him two or three times. Malone had a patch of sticking plaster on his face, and his left hand was supported by a sling. He was much clearer as to what had happened than Coady, and gave his evidence more precisely.

The following 15 jurors were sworn:—

Bartholomew Cawley, John Conniffe, Martin Connell, Thomas Silk, Hugh Greaney, John M. Daly, John Lambert, John Keane, Thomas Haverty, Philip Carr, Michael Byrne, Owen Harte, Hubert Greaney, John Shekelton, and Jas. Kennedy.

The Coroner, in opening the proceedings, said it was a very sad business that they were assembled to inquire into, and they all felt it as much as it would be felt by outsiders or by the country at large. According to the evidence that would be put before them, the deceased man, Constable Martin Goldrick, had been protecting two men named Coady and Malone. The evidence of these two men, who had been fired at and wounded, would be forthcoming. The constable evidently went after the persons who had fired the shots, with the result that he was shot himself. He (the Coroner) did not believe that the witnesses who would be examined here could say that they identified anybody who fired the shots, even if they heard them.

Constable Thomas Traynor stated, in reply to the Coroner, that he identified the body of the deceased as that of Martin Goldrick, whom he last saw alive on the night of the 21st.

You did not see him alive yesterday? No, sir.

Continuing, witness said he saw Goldrick's lifeless body about 9.55 or 10 o'clock a.m. at Crinnagh on the 22nd inst. Witness was passing through a small field, containing many stones and bushes, and he saw the body of the deceased in a partly sitting position in a gap. Death had ensued, but blood was still flowing from a wound in the left breast. Deceased held a small handkerchief in his left hand. Witness raised deceased's head. The head and neck were warm, but the remainder of the body was cold. A revolver which belonged to Goldrick lay by his side. Sergeant Mooney, for whom witness whistled, took charge of the revolver. About eight or nine yards away witness found an empty cartridge, also some gun wads.

A discharged cartridge from a gun, would you say? Yes, and some wads. The wads were shattered and strewn about.

Continuing, witness said he remained with deceased until a medical doctor, a priest, and an officer arrived. On his way to the scene he saw Malone at Niland's house. Malone was then sitting on a chair at the door, bleeding from the hands.

You did not see Coady at all? No, sir; he did not come that way.

Did you get word of the occurrence first? No; the sergeant did.

PATRICK COADY.

One of the injured men, Patrick Coady, stated, in answer to the Coroner, that he was engaged in building a wall for Mrs. Ryan on the 22nd inst., about 8.30 a.m. A shot came over a wall adjoining, struck him in the neck, and knocked him down.

Did it render you unconscious? Yes; I would not know anybody, and I could not see or hear after it.

I suppose you don't know how long you were there? No. I remember Sergeant Mooney coming down. I got up after a time, before the sergeant arrived, and I kept roving about until he came up. He asked me did I see the policeman, and I said that I did not.

What policeman? The man who was with us, Goldrick.

Did you know then of what had happened? I did not, sir.

Where was Goldrick when you were shot? About 15 yards away from me.

Did you hear any other shots? No, I think not, but I am not sure.

What did you do then? After a time Sergeant Mooney sent me to the barracks with a policeman.

Where was Malone then? I think he had gone on to the town before me.

When you recovered consciousness did you see Malone? No, sir. When I was shot Malone was working at the other side of the wall from me. I did not see him after that.

Can you tell us anything more about the deceased? No.

A Juror—Did you see who fired the shot? No.

The Coroner—Did you see anybody about? No.

Another Juror—How far were you from the wall where the shot came over? (No answer.)

The Coroner (to witness)—Were you on the railway side? No, on the field side. Malone was next to the road.

What is the exact position you were in when you got the shot? I was stooping down for a stone to put on the wall when I got it.

How did the shot come? (No answer.)

County Inspector Smith—It came across the railway.

The Coroner (to witness)—Was your left side facing the railway? Yes.

A Juror—Was it a pellet you were hit with? I could not say. I thought my neck was broken when it hit me.

Were you only hit once? I was hit twice.

The Coroner—Two shots were fired at you? Yes.

You said that a shot struck you and rendered you unconscious? Yes, it came after.

A Juror.—If you were knocked unconscious by the first shot how

do you remember the second ? Oh, I was shot a second time. I got the second shot in the head.

Which shot knocked you ? The shot in the head.

The Coroner—Then you did get two shots ? Yes.

A Juror—Were there any more than two shots fired ? I could not say.

The Coroner—Did you feel faint ? Yes.

You said it was the first shot that knocked you unconscious, now you say it was the second. Is the commencement of your evidence wrong ? Yes, sir.

You should be very careful and exact as to your evidence. It is a very grave case, and don't say anything except what you are sure of. We will begin again.

The witness then repeated his evidence. He said that the first shot which came over the wall struck him on the neck and knocked him on one knee. He struggled up again, and got a second shot, the latter in the head. It knocked him bleeding to the wall. He stood up, after a time, and went roving around the field until Sergeant Mooney arrived. The sergeant sent a policeman with him.

PATRICK MALONE.

The second of the injured men, Partick Malone, stated that he and Coady and the constable left Mrs. Ryan's about 8.20 on the morning of the 22nd inst. to do work. When the work had been in progress about five minutes shots were fired. Coady was wounded in the face, and fell. Witness turned to the right, and got in his face a grain of the shot that struck Coady. Witness turned in the direction where the shot came from, and got a second shot in the hand and side. He then ran in the Athenry direction, and two more shots were fired at him.

Did any of them strike you ? No ; they both missed. I then ran for about 30 yards and turned back again. I looked in over the wall where Coady was, and I saw him kneeling down bleeding from the face. I then saw the deceased crossing over the railway wall on the far side, and about eight or nine seconds later I heard three shots more. I ran on in the direction of Craughwell, and I met a constable running towards the place where the shots were fired. I next saw Sergeant Mooney going on a bicycle, and five or six more constables running.

A Juror—When you were running down the road did you speak to Coady ? I did.

What did he say ? He said that he was dying.

POLICE SERGEANT'S EVIDENCE.

Sergeant Albert M. Mooney, in charge of the Craughwell Barrack, stated that about 8.15 on the previous morning it was reported to him that shots had been fired at Mrs. Ryan's workmen. He cycled to the place, and in Mrs. Ryan's field he saw Patrick Coady, who was bleeding from a wound on the left side of his head. Witness had a conversation with him, after which he sent police across the railway line to Grimmage to search for Constable Goldrick. About five minutes to ten he heard a whistle-call and ran to the place. He saw Constable Goldrick lying dead in a gap. Blood was oozing from a wound in his left breast. With assistance witness lifted him up and out into the open. Deceased's revolver was lying in the gap, two chambers having been discharged.

The Coroner—Had he a rifle also? No, only the revolver. I saw him that morning at 8 o'clock going on duty.

A Juror—Was it many yards from the railway wall through the fields where you found the constable? About 400.

MEDICAL EVIDENCE.

Dr. P. J. Quinlan, of Athenry, stated: I, assisted by Dr. Ryan, made a post-mortem examination of the body of Martin Goldrick. We found the body in a healthy condition and well nourished. There were no marks of violence, except gunshot wounds on the right and left side. On the right side there were two pellets of shot that penetrated the skin, one on the right upper arm, and the other on the right side of the chin, in front. On the left side there were about a hundred pellet wounds scattered over the left side of the chest, left arm, and fore-arm, and a few in the abdomen. On the left side of the chest, underneath the collar-bone, there were about 60 pellet wounds in a circle of an inch and a half diameter over the second rib. These pellets penetrated through the skin and tissues underneath, fracturing the second rib in front, also destroying the upper lobe of the left lung and opening the sub-clavian artery. After doing the above damage the shot passed on and lodged in the chest wall at the back, fracturing the third rib behind; Death was due to shock and hemorrhage into the chest cavity.

The Coroner—Would you say at about what distance the shot was fired? I would say at a distance of between five and eight yards.

CORONER'S OBSERVATIONS.

The Coroner, addressing the jury, said they had now heard all the evidence. It was a very sad case, but sad as it was it might easily have been sadder still. The only grain of comfort left arose from the contemplation that only one man was shot dead, not three. But in truth it was sad enough. All the property of the Marquis of Clanricarde was not value for the life of a man. This was the third violent death, the third murder that he (the Coroner) had had inquired into arising from agrarian trouble. They were killing each other over the land—the land to which they must all go back as dust. What made all the circumstances of the present case more dreadful still was the fact of this cruel murder being committed within sight of the church where the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered up—a murder committed with God looking on. It was not his (the Coroner's) duty to moralise or to lecture. He would just say that this poor man met his death bravely. Alone he fought against unknown odds, and he died the death of a hero. The duty of the jury was to find how, when, and where he came by his death. The medical evidence showed the cause to be shock and hemorrhage, due to a gunshot wound. That gunshot wound was plainly inflicted by somebody other than the unfortunate man himself.

The jury then retired to consider their verdict.

The Coroner—I should like to know how many policemen used to be detailed for protective work of this kind?

County Inspector Smith—At first it was four.

The Coroner—And then I think it was reduced to two?

County Inspector Smith—Yes; the number was reduced gradually.

The Coroner—It was considered that there was not the same necessity to keep up the number—that things were getting quieter?

District Inspector Letham—Yes, sir.

THE VERDICT.

The jury returned after an absence of a few minutes.

The Foreman—We have found our verdict. We condemn the outrage, and we express our sympathy with the relatives of the deceased.

The Coroner—I quite approve of that.

County Inspector Smith—I shall convey that expression of sympathy to his relatives.

The following verdict was then handed in :—

“We find that the said Martin Goldrick, 23 years of age, died on the 22nd of January, 1909, from a gunshot wound, inflicted by some person or persons unknown. We condemn the outrage in the strongest manner, and desire that our sympathy be conveyed to the friends of the deceased.”

A Remarkable Interview.

The *Irish Times* (January 25) publishes an interview a representative of that paper has had with Mrs. Ryan, the occupier of the farm at Craughwell, the scene of the murder of Constable Goldrick. The disclosures are of so remarkable a character that we make no apology for reproducing it at length :—

“The representative of the *Irish Times* had an interview with Mrs. Ryan, the owner of the boycotted farm. She lives in a comfortable thatched house in the village of Craughwell. At the time I called upon her there were **five policemen armed with loaded rifles on duty close to her door.** She seemed deeply affected by the dreadful tragedy which had just happened, and she spoke in a manner which suggested a highly strung temperament. She was quite willing to impart any information which she possessed, and though at times while narrating her melancholy story she burst into tears, she gave me very plainly to understand that she would not surrender to terrorism in the smallest degree, and that she was prepared to fight unflinchingly for her rights no matter what new danger threatened.

“She had been in America with her husband, she said, and had returned to Craughwell, her native district, about nine years ago, bringing with her some hundreds of pounds. When she came home the farm which she now held in Templemartin, and which was about ten acres in extent, was in the hands of a caretaker named Gilligan, a remote relative of her own. Gilligan had been previously evicted from the farm, and would not be reinstated as a tenant. She had been told that if she gave him some compensation **the United Irish League would withdraw the boycott and allow her to enter peaceably into possession.** She afterwards came to terms with Gilligan, and she went to Sligo, where, by appointment, she met **two members of Parliament**, who drafted a document, which both she and Gilligan signed, and whereby she purchased his ‘claim’ from him for £20. **The branches of the United Irish League at Loughrea and Craughwell confirmed the negotiations,** and she was then satisfied that no difficulties would be put in her way.

“The arrangement, however, did not suit a local faction, who wanted the farm for division amongst themselves, and a decree went forth that **she must be boycotted** if she did not at once surrender her rights. She would not surrender in view of the fact that she had paid away £20, and had been accepted by Mr. Shaw Tener, Lord

Clanricarde's agent, as the rightful tenant, at a rent of £7 a year. She purchased certain stock, which she placed on the farm, and she made arrangements for opening a provision shop in the town. In view, however, of almost universal hostility shown towards her, she never started the shop. She thought the farm would require all her energies. The boycott continued, though not vigorously, for some time, but nevertheless she had been able to get provisions, and to make fairly satisfactory progress.

"A couple of years ago matters got worse. **Her house was fired into about that time, and a little later she herself was fired at, at the Craughwell railway station.** She was not hurt, but several grains of shot were found in her dress. Her friends and relations who came to call on her rendered themselves unpopular, and **a first cousin of hers who had been a constant visitor was fired at.** Then she told her friends not to come to her any more. About two years ago **the fences and walls surrounding her farm were pulled down** and she received £10 compensation for the injury done. She tried to get workmen to rebuild the walls, but in vain, and having wasted all this time it occurred to her to apply to Mr. Shaw Tener for workmen. The agent on hearing from her sent Coady and Malone to do the work, and on the fourth day of their operations the murder was committed.

"Mrs. Ryan quite broke down at this stage of her statement. Then she spoke rather excitedly, and with a good deal of gesture. 'Is not it dreadful?' she said; 'what an awful position. Here are my two children,' and she pointed to a rather pretty girl of about 18 years of age, who seemed to possess something of her mother's determination, and a pale-faced boy several years younger, who hung his head and sobbed from time to time. **'Nobody,'** Mrs. Ryan continued, **'will speak to my children** except the policeman. Why, the very postboy who delivers letters here won't exchange a word with my lad,' and the little fellow cried again, and retired further into a corner of the kitchen.

"'Are you still able to get provisions?' I inquired. 'Oh, yes,' said she; 'we have not suffered much so far in that way.'

"'Is the boy attending school?' 'Yes, he is attending the school in the town. **The other scholars don't speak to him,** but I insist on his going.'"

"Murder is no sin."

Evidence given in a compensation case at Ennis on January 22 produces surprise that murders like the Craughwell outrage have not been more frequent.

One notice circulated in the district ran as follows:—

"OUR SOCIETY IS LED TO BELIEVE THAT
MURDER IS NO SIN
IN THE
LAND WAR."

A Parallel.

Recently London and Galway have furnished a remarkable illustration of the attitude of public opinion towards crime and lawlessness. The following parallel will explain the position :—

LONDON.

Two Russian Anarchists shot at a man.

Object.—Robbery of bag containing money for wages.

No special police protection afforded to man carrying money.

Criminals pursued by the whole population of the district and captured.

The police constable mortally wounded is regarded as a hero and a brave man who suffered for performing his duty; accorded a public funeral.

GALWAY.

Two men in ambush shot at two men.

Object.—To intimidate the men from building a wall on a boycotted farm.

The labourers specially protected by an armed policeman whilst following their ordinary occupation.

Criminals pursued by solitary policeman, who was shot dead. The population of the district remain passive spectators of the hunt for the murderer.

The murdered constable's funeral boycotted by the people; only his relatives and fellow-policemen follow him to the grave.

The Constable Goldrick Fund.

Our readers will rejoice to learn that the family of the murdered Irish policeman is now substantially provided for by the generosity of the public. Consequently the fund is closed, and our thanks are due to all who subscribed in so liberal a manner towards the relief of this deserving case. On February 20 the total sums received by the main agencies for collection were as follows :—

		£	s.	d.
Received by Sir Neville Chamberlain (Insp. Gen. R.I.C.)		547	0	0
„ „ the <i>Irish Times</i>	.. ..	514	13	0
„ „ the Union Defence League	.. ..	495	0	0
„ „ the <i>Spectator</i>	.. ..	212	0	0
„ „ the <i>Daily Express</i> (London)	.. ..	215	0	0
„ „ the <i>Daily Express</i> (Dublin)	.. ..	95	0	0
		<hr/>		
		£2,078	13	0

The money will be invested by three trustees, whose names we hope to be able to publish next month.

The following correspondence has passed between Sir Neville Chamberlain and Lady FitzGerald :—

Sir Neville Chamberlain writes :—

“ R.I.C. Office, [Dublin] Castle,

“ February 17, 1909.

“ Dear Lady FitzGerald,—I find that £1,350 have already been subscribed in aid of the family of the late Constable Goldrick, Royal Irish Constabulary.

"I would suggest that the time has arrived to consider whether the fund may not now be closed, and if you are of this opinion perhaps you would kindly take the necessary steps in that direction. The manner in which the fund may be most usefully administered to achieve the object of the subscribers might, I suggest, be left to such trustees as you may select.

"I desire to assure you that all ranks of the Royal Irish Constabulary are deeply grateful to you for the appeal which you initiated on behalf of the family of their late comrade, and to all classes of the community for the generous response which followed.

"Yours very truly,

"NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN."

Lady FitzGerald replied as follows:—

"Bute House, South Audley Street, W.,

"February 18, 1909.

"Dear Sir Neville—I quite agree with you that we are now justified in closing the fund, which has been so generously supported, in aid of Constable Goldrick's family.

"I also agree with your suggestion that the capital should be vested in trustees, and I hope to be able in a day or two to give you the names of two gentlemen who have consented to act with you in the matter of the administration of the fund.

"Yours sincerely,

"LILY FITZGERALD."

Mr. Dillon's Subscription.

Mr. John Dillon has sent a subscription to the testimonial which is being got up for Mr. J. P. Farrell, M.P., who is spending six months in prison rather than give bail for good behaviour.

In an accompanying letter Mr. Dillon refers to Mr. Farrell's imprisonment as "a most discreditable outrage." If to punish a man for incitement to disorder is "a most discreditable outrage," in what language should Mr. Dillon denounce the Craughwell murder? We have yet to know. As we also have to learn what subscription Mr. Dillon has forwarded to the relatives of the murdered constable.

A Fractured Skull.

Scarcely less savage and inhuman than the Craughwell outrage is the outrageous assault upon Police-Sergeant Coghlan which took place on January 21, at Peterswell, in Co. Galway. A division of land was taking place in this neighbourhood when the usual disturbance took place amongst the tenants. The police intervened to keep the peace, and whilst engaged in the execution of this duty the above-named officer received a blow from a shovel which fractured his skull. He now lies in hospital in a precarious condition. Verily, the comparison of certain Irishmen to West African savages by the Attorney-General was not wholly undeserved.

A Pitiless Vendetta.

Even murder has not lessened the hostility of the Craughwell law-breakers. A police transport car driving into the village late on Saturday night (January 23) is reported to have been pulled up only an inch away

from a number of huge boulders which were placed across the road with the obvious intention of upsetting the vehicle and precipitating the occupants over a bridge.

Up For Sale.

Much amusement has been caused among Unionists by Mr. Redmond's open declaration that he, his followers, and their principles were up for sale to the highest bidder. Chaffing references by Ministers that Tariff Reformers are prepared to barter with the Irish Home Rulers were taken seriously by Mr. Redmond, and in a speech on the debate on the fiscal question, on February 18, he said:—

"My hon. friend asked whether the Irish party were for sale. . . . If he asked me, I should say that while the Irish party are quite independent of the Liberal party, I should say, yes. We come here to this House to get Home Rule for Ireland, and we would take Home Rule for Ireland from any party that would give it."

The Unionist party are not for sale. Speeches from Tariff Reformers after Mr. Redmond's announcement must have convinced him of this fact. Also he may be referred to Mr. Austen Chamberlain's speech at Redditch, in January, 1908. He said:—

"He would not barter the cause of the Union for Tariff Reform."

—*Freeman's Journal*, January 24, 1908.

The Government Threatened.

Mr. Dillon, M.P., at Belfast (February 12):—

"We all recognise—and it is a matter of the keenest and most vital interest to Ireland—that in the Liberal party, as we know it now, there are two great contending sections. One of these is the Imperialist and Roseberyite section and the other is the Radical and honest Home Rule section. We are watching to see which of these sections will get the upper hand, and **our future relations with the Liberal party will depend upon which of these sections gets the upper hand.** If the Liberal party are going to follow the precedent set in 1894, when Mr. Gladstone resigned, and enter upon a policy of Imperialism, of huge expenditure on the Navy, and to put Home Rule in a back seat, then I promise you we won't ask for young gentlemen in Dublin to dictate to us our course, which will be one of determined and irreconcilable opposition to the Liberal party. If, on the other hand, the Liberal party is going to be led by that section which had Campbell-Bannerman in it, composed of men, many of whom, to my own knowledge—and I know them well—have been trying to forward the cause of Home Rule—have lost their seats for Home Rule; many of whom, as I have known, have fought seven or eight elections and spent thousands of pounds in trying to forward the cause of Home Rule—then, I say, in spite of our critics, they will have the unstinted and hearty support of the Irish party."—*Freeman's Journal*, February 13.

A Distant View.

Mr. Redmond at the National Convention:—

"I believe that Home Rule has been in sight since the introduction of the Home Rule Bill of Mr. Gladstone."—*Freeman's Journal*, February 11.

HOME RULERS

in
and

ENGLAND

IRELAND.

Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., speaking at Manchester on Nov. 12, 1908, said :—

“We believe—I, for myself, believe most profoundly—that **the masses of the British people are not unfriendly to Ireland.** We in Ireland have always felt that we had no quarrel with the masses of the people of this country. Still, in candour, we must admit that there was in the past an anti-Irish prejudice in this country, founded largely upon want of information, founded largely upon the false information instilled into the minds of the people. But we believe to-day that that state of things has changed. **We do not believe that there is to-day any anti-Irish prejudice, as such, among the masses of the people of England.** The obstacles that we have to combat amongst the people of England are of an entirely different character. We have to combat indifference, a perfectly natural indifference; we have to combat apathy; we have to combat—you will excuse the phrase, I use it in no offensive sense—we have to combat ignorance on the Irish question, and this to-day is the first of a series of meetings which my colleagues and myself intend to hold through Great Britain with the object of dissipating that indifference and apathy, and with the object of improving the minds of the English people, who, we quite believe, are animated by no feeling of prejudice or hostility to our country.”—*Freeman's Journal*, Nov. 13, 1908.

The Rev. W. Harper, speaking at Wexford on Nov. 22, 1908, said :—

“Now, my friends, I would just like to make a short digression, but before going further I beg to say that I know Manchester almost as well as any stranger could know it. I have spent many a week in that large manufacturing city, and I know it perhaps as well if not better than I know Dublin. Therefore I will ask you to remember that what I am about to say is not mere book knowledge. Now, in the first place, I would beg to ask you a question. Who were those people who mocked the last hours of the three martyrs? Were they the upper ten or were they the so-called English democracy? I will answer the question for you—**they were the democracy.** These people who acted in such a brutal manner on the night of the 22nd November were **the Manchester working man and his wife and children.** I want to ask you another question. Who was it mocked the poor Boers when they were crushed by brute force? Again I say it was the English working man and the English working man's wife. **It is well for us to remember these things in this democratic age.** It is well to remember these things when we see so many of our trade unions amalgamating with English trade unions and leaving themselves at the sweet mercy of the English working man. I say it is well to remember these things when we see men like Michael Davitt led away by this catch cry of democracy, and telling us that when the English working man gets into power, then we will have reached the millennium, then will poor Ireland receive everything she requires.”—*Gaelic American*, Dec. 26, 1908.

A Foreign kept Party.

Mr. Michael Ryan, President of the U.I.L. of America, rather gives the game away in a communication addressed to "The Friends of Ireland in America." Referring to the work of the U.I.L. there, he says that the League was organised on December 4, 1901. He continues:—

"From that date until the holding of the first National Convention in Boston, on October 20, 1902, there was paid over to the National Treasurer, Mr. T. B. Fitzpatrick, 20,343.60 dollars, and during that time there was remitted by him to Mr. Redmond in Ireland, 15,307 dollars.

"During the two years from October, 1902, to October, 1904, there was received by the National Treasurer 58,599.42 dollars, and during that time there was remitted by him to Mr. Redmond in Ireland, 48,703.75 dollars.

"From October, 1904, to October, 1906, there was paid over to the National Treasurer 64,061.45 dollars, and there was remitted by him to Mr. Redmond in Ireland, 57,459 dollars.

"From October, 1906, to September 21, 1908, notwithstanding the financial depression, there was received by our National Treasurer 60,927.05 dollars, and there was remitted by him to Mr. Redmond in Ireland, 48,585 dollars, leaving a balance in hand of 4,813.78 dollars.

"Since September 22, 1908, the date of the recent Convention, our National Treasurer has forwarded to the National Trustees in Ireland two drafts, each for two thousand pounds, and within the month a third draft for the same amount will be sent over—making a total remittance in less than four months of practically 30,000 dollars."—*Irish News*, January 26.

Longford Quarter Sessions.

Judge Curran, addressing the Grand Jury on Monday, the 18th inst., said that—

"The list of those who are boycotted has been added to since I was last here. A man who, under an erroneous impression, thought he was living in a free country, and that he had liberty to enter into any contract without the interference of the League, is now numbered amongst those who, with their dependants, servants, and families, are wholly boycotted."—*Irish Times*, January 19.

The Lenten Pastorals.

From the *Times* (Feb. 22):—

"Cardinal Logue, in his pastoral, refers to the care and instruction of youth, and states that an abuse in this connexion had now become so common that any further silence or toleration on his part would be criminal. A few years ago the Ancient Order of Hibernians submitted their rules to the Irish Bishops, and claimed toleration as a benefit society. With their rules he had now no concern, nor with their political action, provided that they did not bring themselves under the laws by which the Church condemns secret societies. But in many cases they had degenerated from a benefit society into a spendthrift society. They had erected halls and converted them into dance houses, where the young of both sexes were kept away from

parental control and the prudent supervision which decency requires until the small hours of the morning. Whether drink entered into these entertainments he had not sufficient evidence to say, but he had fears on that point. However this association might be regarded in its political or mutual aid aspect, as a society for promoting riot and disorder it could expect little tolerance from those who are responsible for the moral and spiritual well-being of the Catholic people.

"Dr. Clancy, Bishop of Elphin, condemns cattle-driving and other agrarian offences as **sins that must be 'reserved,'** and with which the ordinary confessor cannot deal. Dr. Clancy further condemns the practice of distributing drink at wakes and funerals. The principal agent or person chiefly responsible will in future, by the violation of an important law now about to come into force, incur the guilt of grievous sin, which will be 'reserved' to the ordinary of the diocese or his delegate.

"Dr. O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, in his pastoral states that amongst the changes through which Ireland is passing none is more important than land purchase, and it is sincerely to be hoped that nothing will delay the process until the people of Ireland own their own land and know the blessings of personal independence. It was already acting as a measure of appeasement amongst the people, and land purchase, if it did nothing else, would blot out of Irish life the miserable separation between the different sections and classes, and replace it by mutual feelings of fellowship in the service of a common country. Shocking as Socialistic principles were, they had been making rapid strides in other countries, and one of the great blessings of the measure of land purchase was that it set right across their path in this country the solid barrier of the people's own interests.

"Dr. Fogarty, Bishop of Killaloe, in his pastoral condemns the **inhuman and un-Christian outrages** which are perpetrated in one or two localities of the diocese. He especially referred to assaults on human life, firing into houses, terrifying defenceless women and children, and burning and destroying property, for which innocent people had to pay. These crimes were horrible, and when perpetrated in furtherance of private greed or malice were not only awful but alarming."

A Note from the Past.

When Nationalists suffer boycotting from their fellow Nationalists, that form of intimidation assumes an entirely different aspect, as will be seen from Mr. Wm. Redmond's speech from the chair of the National League, March 22, 1892. He said:—

"They in Dublin were lucky to live in that city, where they could congregate in vast numbers, and where intimidation of a spiteful kind dare not be attempted against them. (Hear, hear.) They could go to Mass on Sunday with their families and worship the God Who had made them without fearing they might be denounced from the altar in terms of reproach and bitterness. The men in Cork, the men in Waterford—(applause)—the men in all the cities, were all right, but throughout the length and breadth of the land, in little country districts where the people lived

in an isolated condition, where they seldom saw any newspapers, where they seldom had public meetings to give them courage, to inspire them and teach them, there were thousands of men through Ireland, farmers, shopkeepers, and labourers, who, since the commencement of this struggle, had been **suffering a life of hell because of the boycotting and persecution** to which they had been subjected, because their consciences taught them to stick by Mr. Parnell."—*Independent*, March 23, 1892.

An Object-Lesson.

From the *Outlook* (January 30):—

"As an object-lesson in the working of Home Rule in Ireland, the quarrel of the Mullingar Rural District Council with County Court Judge Curran is worthy of notice. In County Westmeath a Mr. Bond has for some time past suffered from a rigorous boycott because he refused to submit to the decrees of the local branch of the League. His family and servants were subjected to the usual public insults and inconvenience. They could not even attend their place of worship without being hooted and assaulted. Three of Mr. Bond's farm servants were tenants of cottages built by public money under the Labourers Act. The Mullingar District Council being, as public trustees, in the position of landlords to these tenants, acting under the influence of the League arbitrarily evicted these labourer tenants. County Court Judge Curran was called upon to issue these decrees of eviction, which of course he was compelled to do; but he took the opportunity of expressing his opinion of the improper action of the District Council. The councillors have resented his censure by passing a resolution that the Judge should be removed from his position. If any landlord in Ireland dared to evict tenants as this public body has done for political reasons alone, there would be an outcry in the Nationalist Press and the landlord's life would not be safe. It is a timely warning to Unionists in Ireland as to what they might expect from popularly elected bodies free to work their will on political opponents."

Thurles Again.

On Tuesday, January 19, the little town of Thurles resumed its normal condition of agrarian excitement. There were a number of "no-rent" cases to be decided, and certain charges of malicious injury to be heard. In order to secure a decent chance of public order, Archbishop Fenelly warned the people "to keep free from turmoil since they had nothing to do with the disputes in question," the public houses were closed for the day, and a body of 130 police were drafted into the town. These precautions had an admirable effect upon the populace, which had thronged to the scene of action from the surrounding neighbourhood, and no breach of the peace was attempted. This incident may well afford an object-lesson to Mr. Birrell that, when he can pluck up sufficient courage regularly to exhibit the forces at his command in the face of disorder, he will find rare necessity to make further use of them, for courage is not the predominant characteristic of cattle-drivers and persons of that kidney.

Following a case of intimidation at Thurles Petty Sessions on February 21, the policemen who had been drafted into the town during the earlier portion of the day while being marched to the railway station were followed by a jeering crowd. Stones were flung at them and persons in the crowd were injured. A baton charge was ordered, and the crowd fled in all directions. A number of persons were injured, including the drummer of the Clareen Band. His head and face were cut, and his drum was smashed. The crowd made no attempt to re-form, and after the police had left by train the town assumed its normal appearance.

Pity the Process-Servers.

The hooligans of the United Irish League are at their despicable work again, and Mr. Birrell stands idly by, as usual. This time it is a process-server named O'Flaherty, who was trying to do his duty in the King's name by serving processes at Loughgeorge, near Galway, on the 15th inst. He was warned by an unknown friend not to do so, as trouble was in store; nevertheless, he advanced towards his destination. Suddenly a number of people who were evidently waiting for him came running towards him with evident intent to treat him as others had previously been treated. He escaped them, however, and lodged his complaint at the police station in Loughgeorge. **One man was arrested and bound over to good behaviour.** A further case of the same blackguard description occurred on the 18th inst. in the district of East Cork, when a process-server named Michael Lynch was returning home.

"The assault took place near Churchtown, two miles from Middleton. Lynch, who was alone, was set upon and kicked, and badly beaten by some unknown men. The police are investigating the affair, but so far no arrests have been made."—*Belfast News Letter*, January 20.

Protestant Farmers Boycotted.

We hope that Protestants and Nonconformists in Great Britain will not fail to note a remarkable boycotting case recently heard at Riverstown in Co. Sligo.

The case was to have been heard some months ago, but the Crown witnesses refused to appear, by way of protest against the apathy of the Government. The proceedings at a subsequent hearing came to an abrupt termination, because the magistrates, notwithstanding the protests of the Crown solicitor, adjourned the cases for three months. On the third hearing (February 4), 19 witnesses, **all of them Protestants**, gave evidence showing that they had been **persistently boycotted for refusing to subscribe to the United Irish League.**

Men refused to carry their milk to the creamery; a shoemaker lost his customers; farmers could not get their horses shod; in one case, however, a blacksmith ventured to do so, but his anvil was broken in consequence; a widow had her meadow spiked, and her mowing machine was broken.

No evidence was called for the defence, but the magistrates, by a majority, **dismissed the charges.** The Resident Magistrate, who was present, said that he was glad that he was not one of the majority.

Cattle-driving not Objected to.

Mr. Dillon, M.P., at Belfast (February 12) :—

"I have never objected to driving cattle."—*Irish News*, February 13.

Confessions.

We note a couple of interesting admissions in the Irish local newspapers recently to hand :—

On Sunday, January 10, the notorious Mr. John FitzGibbon made a speech at Ballinameen where "he claimed that he was the originator of cattle-driving in the county, and, such being the case, he would ask the people to put up their weapons for the present and give Mr. Birrell a chance. **Mr. Birrell had taken up the post of John FitzGibbon (cheers), and was himself the huge cattle-driver in Ireland."**

And then on January 17, Mr. Jeremiah MacVeagh, M.P., orating to his constituents at Clanvaraghan, declared that—

"The Liberals were pledged to make Home Rule the foremost plank in their programme at the next General Election, and they might take it that the Irish party would pin them to that pledge; and if they made any attempt to play fast and loose in that respect the arm of the Irish party would be long enough and **strong enough to wreak vengeance** on the Liberal party for that act of tergiversation. If the Liberal party were guilty of that baseness it would be the greatest act of political treachery in the history of English politics."—*Irish News*, January 18.

It is satisfactory to find ourselves in complete agreement with the foregoing remarks. The Liberal party **are** cattle-drivers and Home Rulers to exactly the same extent as the Nationalist agitators, though their responsibility is infinitely greater.

An M.P. Boasts of Inciting to Violence.

Mr. James Halpin, M.P., speaking at a meeting of the United Irish League at Kilrush on January 25, said :—

"He always faced the music, and, please God, he would live to face it again. He was at a meeting at Touclea last year, and he advised the young men there to drive the cattle off the land, and **so they did, and suffered for it.** He commenced the work at Ballycorick, and told the people there also to drive the cattle off the lands before the 1st of November, but they did not get the chance of doing so as Major Ball and his men had them removed before the day came. The same happened in Coor and many other places in the county. He also attended and addressed a meeting at Kilnamona, where he was invited by the labourers. Of course he would do anything in his power for the poor labourer. At any rate at the meeting he advised the people to drive the cattle off the lands of Mr. Thomas Crowe and company, and **the cattle there were also driven.**"—*Clare Champion*, January 30.

Here we have an M.P. boasting of his success in inciting people to break the law; also boasting that his dupes suffered for the action he persuaded them to take. He appears to have escaped, but now that he has confessed his responsibility Mr. Birrell might do worse than visit him with the punishment he deserves.

The Confederates.

We're a band of desperadoes, and we revel in tornados
Of boycotting and outrage and all other sorts of crime ;
Our identity will never be disclosed, nor will you ever
Get hold of us, for some of us are watching all the time.

In Parliament we're lucky, for we have an ally plucky
Encouraging our movement by his eloquence and power.
He's one of our sodality—the king of comicality—
He'll speak 'mid "cheers and laughter" about outrage for an hour.

It's an incident of battle that we frequently drive cattle
Belonging to a landlord or a grazier—we don't care ;
But, when punishment is mooted, we are always prosecuted
By a friend of our fraternity—so punishment is rare.

When we're sent to Petty Sessions we make eloquent confessions
Of all that's charged against us by the plaintiff and police ;
But friends at court are present, very numerous and pleasant,
Who merely bind us over for a bit to keep the peace.

Is there murder in a village—over bog or over tillage ?
Our federated neighbours will protect us every one,
Though his Riverence may trounce us and the Bishop may denounce us,
We shall surely hoist the black flag when the inquest is begun.

Yes, WE are the "Confederates," who everybody venerates,
We're doughty and determined, and we're desperately strong ;
Our membership will never be disclosed, nor will you ever
Dispose of us—unless, of course, you summon Walter Long.
—QUITs.

A "Comparatively Harmless" Process !

A writer in the *Irish News* (February 3) has been defending the "comparatively harmless" process of cattle-driving against the charge of cruelty. The fact that time after time in the House of Commons last year cases of cruel treatment of driven animals were acknowledged to be true does not seem to have weighed with this veracious chronicler. But he need only have turned to the proceedings in the previous week at the Ballymote Quarter Sessions to have found evidence against his assertion. There in a claim for compensation for malicious injury the Judge said that the cattle (four bullocks) "were undoubtedly maliciously driven into bogholes, and they were in a bad way when they were found. **He did not know why human beings would go on visiting their spite on these poor dumb animals.** He wondered how they would like it if they themselves were treated in that way."—*Roscommon Herald*, January 30.

A veterinary surgeon who examined the bullocks three days after the drive deposed that one animal was completely blind ; the eyeball of another was burst, and the third had an eyeball broken. The fourth he did not examine as it was up on the mountains.

The Terrorists' Warning.

From the *Belfast News Letter* (January 30):—

“The Central News Ennis correspondent telegraphs:—A shocking act is reported from Roughan, a grass farm, in the possession of Mr. John A. Stoddart, Cragmaher, where a three-year-old bullock, one of a number grazing on the farm was shot, **the head being afterwards hacked from the carcass and taken some distance to an iron gate. Here the head was impaled on the spikes, and a strongly-worded notice was tied to it, threatening with the same fate all persons who took grazing lands.** Inspector Howe and the district inspector have been making inquiries, but no arrests are reported.”

Infamous Cruelty.

The claims for compensation for malicious injury to property, and largely to live stock, will amount to an enormous total in certain parts of Ireland when all the awards given at Quarter Sessions are added up. In many instances the cruelty to dumb animals is revolting in its detail. Here is one case, taken at random, brought by a Mr. Davis, of Frenchpark, for the killing of his brood mare. In his evidence he states:—

“On the 19th of November I went to see the mare. . . She was staggering, blowing, and grunting. . . In a few minutes she dropped down dead. The mare was ruptured on both sides of the stomach. The passage of the mare was torn as if a stick had been shoved up the passage. She was all ruptured on the inside. The mare was in foal. **I had litigation at last Sessions here.** Since then another mare of mine was injured on the land in dispute. I also got a goat dead on the land. I also had a cow that was milked at eight at night and had a ‘bag’ as big as my hat protruding in the morning. **All this occurred since I had the law.**”

Judge Wakeley, in awarding the man £35, said, “It is a bad, disgraceful injury. . . and, after the evidence, it is **one of the most brutal and malicious cases** I ever tried, but I imagine it is only confined to a few people.”—*Roscommon Herald*, January 16.

Married under Police Protection.

The Galway correspondent of the *Irish Times* (February 13) writes:—

“An unusual proceeding was witnessed at the Roman Catholic Church at Castlegar, about four miles from this city, yesterday afternoon, when a young man, son of Mr. Peter Grealish, whose house was fired into on Tuesday night, was married to a young woman from the Parish of Castlegar. Outside the church door stood a couple of armed policemen, fearing that any disturbance might take place, but everything passed off quietly. Then followed what is called the ‘dragging home’ in this part of the country, the bride and bridegroom on a side-car at the head of a procession of about 40 other side-cars, on which sat the guests who had been invited to the wedding. The rear of the cavalcade was brought up by a police escort on bicycles. On arriving at Carnmore, the future home of the bride, the newly-married couple were welcomed by a number of friends. As darkness commenced to close around them they were not a little surprised to

see coming in the direction of the house a large force of constables armed with rifles, whom the authorities deemed it advisable to send as a protecting party, fearing that there might be another attack on the dwelling."

Lawlessness Spreads.

Lawlessness when not checked invariably spreads. Mr. Birrell having declined to take effective steps against agrarian lawlessness, the town-dwellers have adopted that method of gaining their ends.

At Kilfinane (Co. Limerick) the inhabitants, being dissatisfied with the reduction in rent allowed by the landlord, resolved to pay no rent until he sold the town to the occupiers.

Two bailiffs under police protection endeavoured to serve notices to quit at one o'clock on the afternoon of January 28. Hooting and groaning soon showed signs of developing into physical force. A baton charge was carried out by the small force of police, who were outnumbered by thirty to one. In the evening the crowd was augmented by the young men of the surrounding districts armed with hurleys. Towards nine o'clock the police inspector called on the crowd to disperse. The reply was a fusillade of bottles and stones. The police charged, and a hand to hand conflict ensued. Reinforcements of police arrived and some had a rough time, being set on by the crowd; but shortly after midnight the rioters dispersed, leaving the police in possession.

A New Agitation.

The landlords and farmers of Ireland have recently become aware that the covetous eyes of landless men are not only set upon the possession of grazing farms. It is known that, during the past few months, there has been an agitation to include tillage land (which gives occupation to thousands of Irish labourers) in the general scramble for other people's real property. Now "the cat is out of the bag." An Association is to be started "the objects of which are to encourage tillage. . . . Our dear people are flying from the land. . . . You can travel great distances without meeting a human being, one man or so and a few dogs to about 1,000 acres of grazing land. It is dreadful to think of it, replacing our people by beasts. . . . This movement is strictly non-political, and non-sectarian. . . . The Most Reverend Dr. Sheehan, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, has given permission for members of his Church to attend (on March 17), and gave us every encouragement."

How beautiful it all sounds; there are echoes of Mr. Ginnell and Mr. Birrell, with a few attempts at Sir Horace Plunkett, in every line of the prospectus, which is too long to print in full. We wonder if anybody is likely to be taken in by it?

The University Muddle.

The conflict over the establishment of a Roman Catholic University for Ireland is already almost forgotten by the Nonconformists of England, but it is by no means past. This beneficent measure, which was hailed alike by clerics and laity as the crowning act of Irish intellectual emancipation (and by politicians as "**a grand forward step towards Home Rule**"), is now become a bone of fierce contention between the Bishops and the Sinn Fein party. We cannot congratulate either

side upon the acumen which it displays in a purely educational struggle which both seem unfitted to conduct. Whether the Irish language shall be a compulsory part of the University curriculum does not seem a difficult problem to solve ; but the discussion of this question has driven in a deep wedge between priests and people. The contest is being hotly waged on platforms and in the Press all over Ireland, and there seems to be little prospect of any satisfactory truce being arrived at.

Compulsory Irish.

Even the numerous congratulatory communications from the Roman Catholic Bishops were not sufficient to enable Mr. Dillon and the Irish Nationalist party to secure a majority of the Convention in favour of the ecclesiastical position on the Irish language question.

Mr. Boland, M.P., moved a resolution in favour of the Irish language being a compulsory subject for matriculation at the new Nationalist University. Mr. Dillon opposed, but failed to carry the Convention, and the compulsory resolution was passed by an enormous majority.

The Sheep and the Goats.

From the *Western People* (January 23):—

“ KILMOVEE BRANCH, U.I.L.

“ It was resolved that a complete list of the members of this branch be posted up at the chapel gates on Sunday next, in order to give the general public an opportunity of seeing that the membership for this year now totals almost 400 ; that it be published in the Press later on, **and that a list of non-subscribers will also appear in public.**”

One can easily imagine the unfortunate fate of those non-subscribers to whose failure to support the League such publicity is to be given.

LIFE IN IRELAND.

A Diary of Outrages, etc., under Radical Rule.

"I am not going to palliate or minimise the deplorable state of things which exist in some parts of Ireland. I and my colleagues would be false to our duty and false to our real opinions if we did anything of the kind. I quite admit that there are going on in some parts of Ireland things which are reprehensible, which ought to be put down, which public opinion ought to condemn, and which, so far as the arm of the law is strong enough to reach them, the arm of the law ought never to be slack in reaching and preventing."—Mr. Asquith, House of Commons, February 16.

January 22—Co. Galway.—In connection with the Craughwell shooting affray (see page 95) three men were arrested. Their names are given as Thomas King, blacksmith, Craughwell; Michael Dermody, farmer, Shanbally; and Thomas Hyner, farmer, Lisduff. They were brought before a magistrate at Craughwell next day. Hynes was discharged, whilst the other two were remanded to Galway jail.—*Freeman's Journal*, Jan. 25.

January 22—Co. Westmeath.—An extensive cattle-drive took place on the lands of Mr. P. L'Estrange, at Dysart. Twenty-six men were arrested and conveyed to Athlone, where they were brought before a magistrate, who bound them over to keep the peace or in default three months' imprisonment. Thirteen of the defendants consented to give bail, the remainder electing to go to prison.—*Midland Reporter*, Jan. 28.

January 23—Co. Tipperary.—Shortly after midnight a band of men armed with sticks and stones made a determined raid on the dwelling house of William Kennedy, at Knockasharoon, smashing in the window and bursting the doors. Not satisfied with this destruction the mob turned its attention to the walls, gates and piers surrounding the farm and did much damage. Kennedy and his brother encountered them in a lane leading to the house, and a fierce riot followed, but after a severe struggle the Kennedys were overpowered and badly beaten about the head and body. Two men, named Richard and Michael Small, were afterwards arrested, and were later charged before a magistrate with being concerned in the affray; they were remanded, bail being accepted. It is stated that Kennedy's farm is being claimed by a certain family in the neighbourhood.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Jan. 27.

January 24—Co. Sligo.—A daring case of intimidation occurred at Moydoo, the facts of which are briefly as follows. The Congested District Board proposed to make a road through Moydoo and Clooneigh to join the Ballymote road. John Walsh, through whose land the road would run, objecting, turned up the field two nights previously. The parties turned all the sods back, and dug a rough grave in their stead.

A board was placed at the top bearing a notice on which was a rough drawing of a coffin, and a warning to desist from opposition or he would receive further kindness.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Jan. 26.

January 25—Co. Tipperary.—The cattle were driven off the lands of Ballynonty, kept by a Mr. Hughes.—*Kilkenny People*, Jan. 30.

January 25—Co. Westmeath.—Another cattle-drive was carried out at Dysart from Mr. P. L'Estrange's lands (see above). Eight men were arrested, and on being brought before a magistrate, declined to enter into bail, and were sentenced to two months' imprisonment. A large crowd assembled to witness their departure for Kilmainham jail, and loud cheers were given.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Jan. 26.

January 26—Co. Sligo.—A correspondent of the *Dublin Daily Express* reports that a large cattle-drive took place a few nights ago at Riverstown from one of the grazing farms. The whole stock was cleared, and the cattle were driven a distance of over four miles.

January 26—Co. Longford.—In connection with the assault on Mr. Harris Martin (see IRISH FACTS, February, page 70), twelve men were arrested and brought for trial at Newtownforbes. One of the defendants was fined £1, six 10s., and one case withdrawn. The charge against the other four defendants was adjourned until May 18. The result was received with loud cheers outside the courthouse, and bands, which had been kept at a distance during the morning by the police, paraded the streets.—*Irish Times*, Jan. 27.

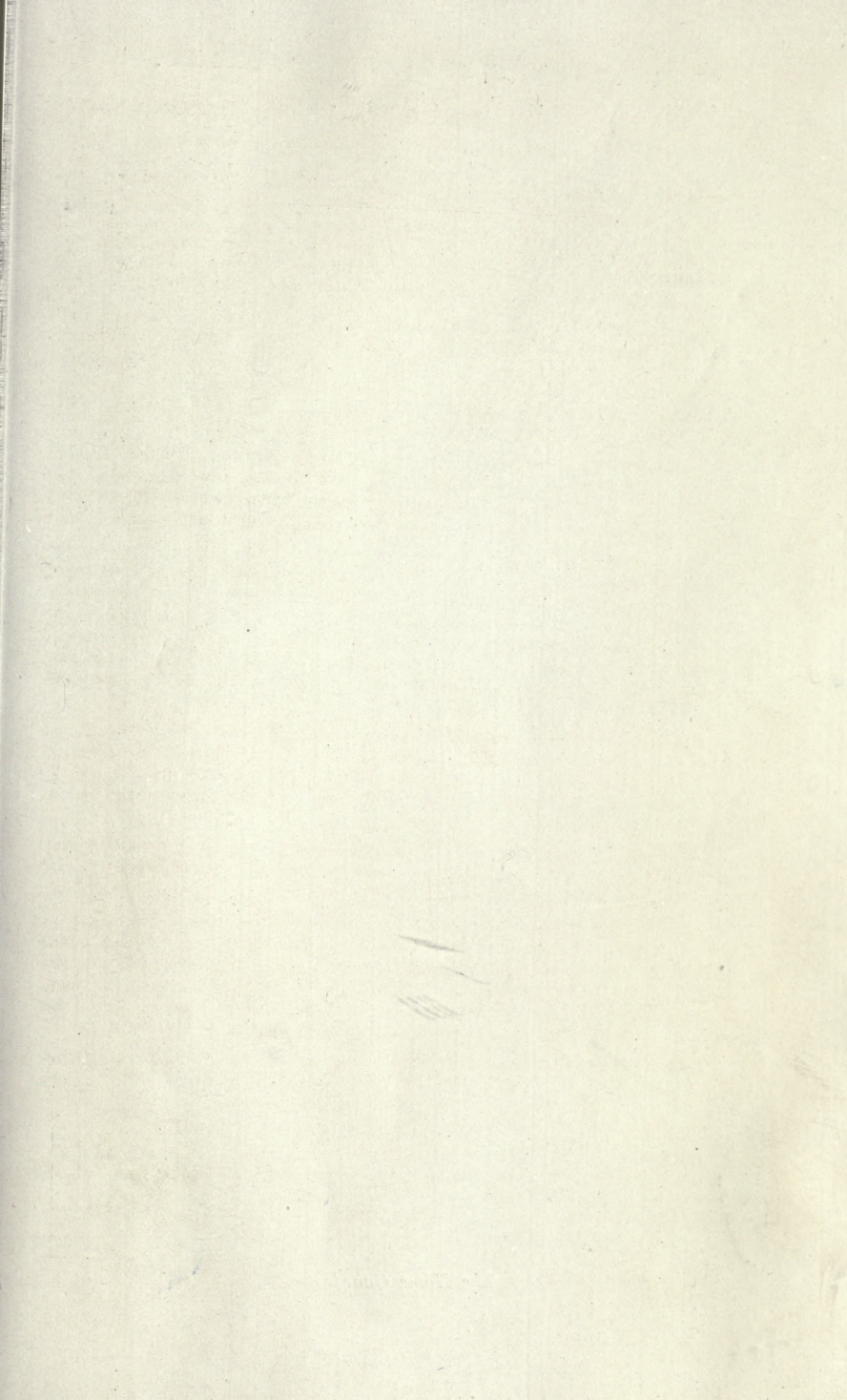
January 26—Co. Clare.—A shooting outrage was perpetrated at Roughan, near Corofin, on a farm kept by a Mr. Studdert. During the night the miscreants shot one of the bullocks, hacked the head off the carcase, and mounted it on one of the piers of the gates of the farm.—*Irish Times*, Jan. 29.

January 27—Co. Galway.—Lord Clanricarde's pound was broken into early in the morning, and two cows which had been seized for rent were stolen.—*Irish Times*, Jan. 28.

January 28—Co. Limerick.—Scenes of riot and tumult occurred in the town of Kilfinane in connection with the resistance of the town tenants to the service of notice to quit, and from an early hour up till close on 10 p.m. the police and people were in a hand to hand conflict. In the fight the police were driven back, and reinforcements had to be called from neighbouring towns.—*Irish Independent*, Jan. 29.

January 29—Co. Limerick.—Following on the previous day's disturbances, some 350 policemen occupied the town of Kilfinane; the houses in which the notices were to be served were barricaded, and the people still showed resistance.—*Irish Independent*, Feb. 1.

January 30—Co. Longford.—A meet of the Roscommon Hunt was held at Oran, and when the hounds arrived at Brackloon a hostile crowd drove the stag into a lake, and demanded the retirement of two "obnoxious" gentlemen, who were objected to by the fact that their father had given evidence at the last Limerick Assizes against twelve men in connection with a cattle-drive. The gentlemen objected to retire from the field, and the hunt was proceeded with without further molestation.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Feb. 1.



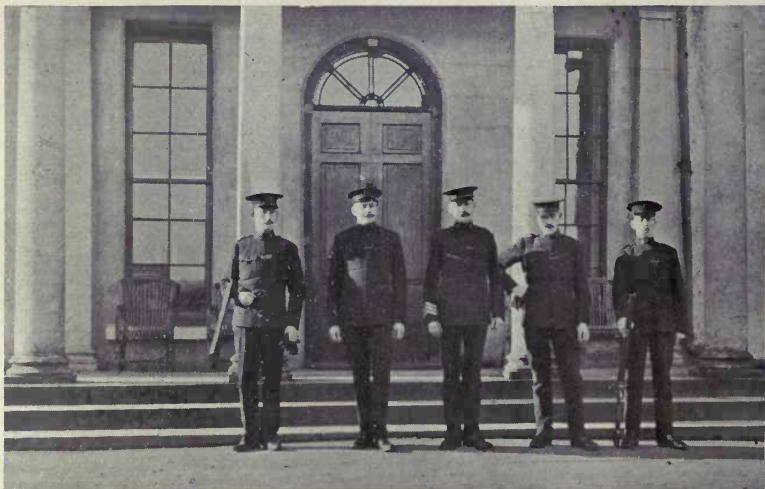
GRAIGUENOE PARK,

NEAR THURLES.

SCENES AT A BOYCOTTED MANSION.



Residence of Mr. C. N. Clarke.



The Home Guard.



Boycotted Tenantry buying provisions from Mrs. Clarke's Store.



Mr. Clarke and his Armed Escort.

January 31—Co. Sligo.—A private pack of hounds maintained by Mr. O'Hara, met for a hunt in the district of Annaghmore. Shortly after the pack drew off five valuable hounds dropped dead from poison which must have been picked up on the land. A short time ago some tenants on the estate (owned by Mr. O'Hara) refused to sign an agreement in connection with the land, or pay rent, and proceedings were taken against them at Tobercurry Quarter Sessions yesterday, and it is believed that the outrage is a sequel to the proceedings.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Feb. 1.

February 1—Co. Clare.—A large hay shed, containing about twenty tons of hay, was burnt to the ground at Clooney between 10 and 12 o'clock at night.—*Clare Champion*, Feb. 2.

February 2—Co. Clare.—A stack of hay was burnt at Maghera during the night, and the herd's dog, which gave warning, was fired at and wounded.—*Clare Champion*, Feb. 2.

February 2—Co. Clare.—About forty bullocks were driven off the lands at Shessandonnell, from a farm occupied by Mr. H. V. Macnamara, and from which a drive took place on January 29.—*Clare Champion*, Feb. 6.

February 2—Co. Limerick.—As a sequel to the Kilfinane riots (see IRISH FACTS above, January 28 and 29) a man named Patrick Fitton was charged with threatening one of the bailiffs. He was ordered to give bail for good behaviour, or in default two months' imprisonment. He elected to go to prison, but the police could not get a car in the district, and had to obtain one from Limerick, some 25 miles distant, to convey him to Limerick prison.—*Belfast News Letter*, Feb. 4.

February 2—King's Co.—A correspondent of the *Irish Times* reports that a few nights ago some cattle were driven off the land from Dowras farm. Part of the fence was knocked down, the gate removed, and the posts torn up. The words "Remember Galway" were scrawled on the gate with red paint, together with some threatening reference to the herd of the farm, Michael Murray. This farm for some time past has been the subject of much trouble in the district. (See IRISH FACTS, January, page 26, and February, page 69.)

February 2—Co. Westmeath.—About 9 a.m. a number of men entered a farm at Stratterstown, held by Major Carr, of Bryanstown, and proceeded to clear the cattle, but ten were arrested in the act. They were brought before a magistrate the same afternoon, and were bound over to keep the peace, or in default two months' imprisonment. Four of the defendants gave bail, the remainder being conveyed to Kilmainham jail.—*Midland Reporter*, Feb. 4.

February 2—Co. Galway.—A large force of police accompanied a sheriff's bailiff to Abbeyknockmoy, where an auction was announced of cattle seized for non-payment of rent. When the sale was about to commence, an attempt was made to drive off the cattle. The police, however, charged with batons, and drove the disturbers off, and the sale was proceeded with without further interruption, with the exception of groans and shouts from the crowd.—*Irish Times*, Feb. 3.

February 2—Co. Tipperary.—Eighty head of cattle were driven off Mr. Darly Scully's grazing farm at Forgestown.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Feb. 3.

February 3—Co. Galway.—The tails were cut off seven cattle, the property of John Conroy, Boston, Gort; they were also tarred and painted all over. It is stated the reason of the outrage is because Conroy holds a small grazing farm.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Feb. 5.

February 3—Co. Clare.—The tails were cut off a number of cattle, the property of Mr. John Forde, Knockanes Carron. They were grazing on a farm at Glencolumbkille, and were to be sent to the fair at Ennis.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Feb. 8.

February 4—Co. Cork.—The dwelling house of an agricultural tenant named Norah Hickey, at Rathcanning, was fired into whilst the inmates were in bed.—*Irish Times*, Feb. 5.

February 4—Co. Clare.—The tails were cut off a number of cattle belonging to Mr. E. Ford, of the Cairin district.—*Irish Times*, Feb. 8.

February 6—Co. Westmeath.—At Mullingar, before a special court, two lads, aged 18 and 16 respectively, were charged with taking part in a cattle-drive at Fore that morning. They were ordered to give bail for good behaviour for six months; they, however, refused, and were sent to prison for one month.—*Irish Times*, Feb. 8.

February 7—Co. Westmeath.—Twenty-seven head of cattle were driven off the lands of Kilrush, from a farm the property of Mr. William Casey, J.P.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Feb. 9.

February 10—Co. Sligo.—The grazing farm of Major Eccles, a Local Government Board Inspector, situated at Canims, was cleared of about nineteen head of cattle. This is the sixth drive which has taken place on this farm since May last.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Feb. 12.

February 10—Co. Galway.—The house of a man named Peter Greelish, of Oranmore, was fired into between 7 and 8 o'clock at night, but no person was injured. The police were communicated with, and they arrested a man in whose house a recently discharged gun and several rounds of ammunition were found. It is alleged that the prisoner threatened Peter Greelish and his son on a former occasion.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Feb. 11.

February 11—Co. Sligo.—Five men were charged at Ballymote before a special court for intimidating and assaulting a herd named Martin Kearns, employed by a Mr. Robinson, owner of the "Old Rock" farm, over which there has been a lot of trouble. The defendants were bound over to be of good behaviour for six months.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Feb. 12.

February 14—Co. Galway.—An attack was made on the police barracks at night. The Ahascragh band was out for its usual parade, and it is alleged that some men flung stones at the police barracks. The police arrested five men, who were conveyed next morning to Ballinamore, where they were brought before a magistrate and bound to the peace for 12 months.—*Irish Independent*, Feb. 19.

February 15—Co. Roscommon.—Four men were charged at Croghan Petty Sessions with intimidating one Jason Price, a civil bill officer, in the discharge of his duties on January 27 last. It appears that he was attacked by a mob with pitchforks, and pelted with mud. The defendants were ordered to give bail or go to prison for three months, but three

only consented, the remainder being removed into custody. The proceedings created great excitement, and a crowd that attempted to enter the village was stopped by the police.—*Irish Times*, Feb. 15.

February 15—Queen's Co.—A man named J. Kenny was arrested in the district of Erril on a charge of having used intimidation towards a Miss E. Bray, on February 6. It appears that when Miss Bray (who is friendly with a person "obnoxious" to certain people) was passing the house of Mr. Butler, where the defendant was employed, Kenny rushed towards her brandishing a "slasher" in a threatening manner, following Miss Bray for half a mile, meanwhile keeping up the threatening attitude. The defendant was bound over to be of good behaviour for twelve months, or in default three months' imprisonment. The bails were not forthcoming, and the prisoner was conveyed to Tullamore jail.—*Irish Times*, Feb. 16.

February 15—Co. Westmeath.—Nine men from Horsleap were charged at Tullamore with driving cattle belonging to Davis Kenny off the lands of Donore on that date. All the defendants were bound over to be of good behaviour for twelve months, or in default three months' imprisonment. The prisoners declined to enter into any recognisances, and were accordingly committed to prison.—*Irish Times*, Feb. 16.

February 15—Co. Tipperary.—A meeting of the East Galway hounds was arranged to take place at Rathenbin, on the invitation of a gentleman residing in the district. Some members of the United Irish League got to hear of the invitation, and the Master received a letter stating that as certain "obnoxious" persons were associated with the East Galways the meeting would be strenuously opposed. On account of this opposition the engagement was cancelled.—*Dublin Daily Express*, Feb. 18.

February 16—Co. Galway.—A correspondent of the *Dublin Daily Express* reports that an outrage of great brutality was perpetrated in the Loughrea district about the beginning of last week. A fine ram, belonging to a farmer named Dervan, was found dead in one of his fields with its throat maliciously cut. Dervan's offence was that he had a son who had taken a farm from a former tenant who had been evicted. The local branch of the United Irish League had repeatedly called on the younger Dervan to give up the farm, but this he refused to do.

February 16—Co. Galway.—The house of a Mrs. Brady, of Duniry, near Loughrea, was fired into by some persons unknown, the only reason assigned for the outrage being, that Mrs. Brady was on friendly terms with the Dervans, who had also been the victims of an outrage, and were under censure of the United Irish League. (See above.)—*Dublin Daily Express*, Feb. 20.

February 17—Co. Roscommon.—A detachment of police left Roscommon for Athlone to assist in protecting a bailiff while serving writs for rent on an estate near the town. The people assembled on the hills and groaned at the process server and protection party.—*Irish Times*, Feb. 19.

February 18—Co. Galway.—At the Gort Petty Sessions, five men were charged with assaulting Police Sergeant Coghlan at Peterswell, on January 20 (See IRISH FACTS, February, page 71). They were returned for trial at the next Galway Assizes.—*Irish Times*, Feb. 19.

MALICIOUS INJURIES.

Date of Award.	District.	Amount.	Particulars.
1908.			
Dec. 30	Birr Qr. Sess. ..	£13	Injury to sheep driven.
1909.			
Jan. 2	Kingstown Sess. ..	£40	Burning hay.
Jan. 5	Naas Qr. Sess. ..	£301	Burning hay.
Jan. 6	Limerick Qr. Sess.	£112 10s.	Burning hay.
Jan. 6	Limerick Qr. Sess.	£130	Burning hay.
Jan. 6	Westport Qr. Sess.	£36 10s.	Damage to fishing nets.
Jan. 6	Westport Qr. Sess.	£25	Damage to fishing nets.
Jan. 7	Roscommon Qr. Sess.	£21 15s.	Injury to cattle driven.
Jan. 7	Roscommon Qr. Sess.	£9 7s. 6d.	Damage to mowing machine.
Jan. 7	Listowel Qr. Sess.	£140	Burning hay.
Jan. 12	Castlerea Qr. Sess.	£35	Killing a mare.
Jan. 14	Newcastle, W., Qr. Sess.	£21	Burning a house.
Jan. 15	Gort Qr. Sess. ..	£35	Damage to walls of farm.
Jan. 15	Gort Qr. Sess. ..	£30	Burning a stable and cow house.
Jan. 15	Gort Qr. Sess. ..	£1 10s.	Damage to dwelling house.
Jan. 15	Ennistymon Qr. Sess.	£2 7s. 6d.	Damage to a cart.
Jan. 15	Athy Qr. Sess. ..	£90	Burning a stable and cow house.
Jan. 15	Athy Qr. Sess. ..	£8	Damage to a house.
Jan. 15	Newcastle, W., Qr. Sess.	£25	Burning hay.
Jan. 19	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	£16	Burning hay.
Jan. 19	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	£1	Destruction of windows.
Jan. 19	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	£1 10s.	Injury to a bullock.
Jan. 19	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	£7 16s.	Injury to cattle driven.
Jan. 19	Thurles Qr. Sess. ..	£25	Damage to a house.
Jan. 19	Claremorris Qr. Sess.	£3	Injury to a heifer.
Jan. 19	Claremorris Qr. Sess.	£4 10s.	Injury to a ram.
Jan. 19	Galway Qr. Sess. ..	£10	Damage to a wall.
Jan. 19	Galway Qr. Sess. ..	£2 10s.	Damage to windows, &c.
Jan. 19	Baltinglass Qr. Sess.	£23	Burning a cottage.
Jan. 21	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	£21 19s.	Injury to cattle driven
Jan. 23	Carlow Qr. Sess. ..	£86	Injury to cattle driven.
Jan. 25	Meath Qr. Sess. ..	£21	Injury to cattle driven.
Jan. 25	Meath Qr. Sess. ..	£37 10s.	Burning cattle and fowls.
Jan. 27	Meath Qr. Sess. ..	£27	Burning hay.
Jan. 27	Meath Qr. Sess. ..	£25	Burning a house.
Jan. 28	Ballymote Qr. Sess.	£5 10s.	Injury to cattle driven.
Jan. 28	Ballymote Qr. Sess.	£6 6s.	Injury to cattle driven.
Jan. 28	Ballymote Qr. Sess.	£24 10s.	Injury to cattle driven.
Jan. 30	Trim Qr. Sess. ..	£88	Burning hay.
Jan. 30	Trim Qr. Sess. ..	£60	Burning a house, &c.

THE NATIONALIST CONVENTION, 1909.

Paddymonium.

We do not know which is the more curious—the appeal for good behaviour with which Mr. Redmond opened the Irish National Convention, or the panegyric with which he closed it. “Ireland’s capacity for self-government,” said Mr. Redmond, on Tuesday morning, “will be judged at home and abroad by the conduct of this assembly,” an appeal for decency which ought to have been unnecessary. On Wednesday evening he declared that the assembly had “carried on its business with dignity and decorum,” and the *Freeman’s Journal* endorsed his opinion that the proceedings had been “creditab[e]” to the Irish nation. And Mr. Dillon, in whom the quality of humour is sadly deficient, soared to greater heights of laudation, when he said that in no other country could a similar gathering have conducted itself with such order. We dare swear he is right, though his eulogy has a double edge. But we doubt not he is correct in saying that no other country could have produced such a scene upon such an occasion.

There were assembled some 2,000 men, mostly of one way of thinking, for unanimity had been assured by the simple process of excluding dissentients. These men were not the tag-rag and bobtail of Ireland, as ignorant Saxons might suppose after a perusal of the Irish papers, but the fathers of the people; the most representative gathering of Irishmen, said Mr. Redmond, that he had ever seen. They were met not as a demonstration, but as a deliberative assembly, to debate matters of the highest moment, and to form decisions of far-reaching importance. Constitutional questions, involving nice points of political tactics, and economic problems of great complexity were submitted for the exercise of their calm judgment, while the responsibility of demonstrating their capacity for self-government by self-restraint and decency was imposed upon them in set terms by their leader. It was thus a great occasion; how the representatives of patriotic Ireland rose to it is now matter of history.

Young Ireland opened the ball with the statesmanlike proposal that the patriots should ignore all minor reforms, and concentrate themselves on Home Rule. It mattered nothing to the ardent Mr. Cruise O’Brien, or the truculent Mr. Lloyd, that the reforms might be good and much needed. What was the welfare of the people to their soaring imaginations? Let wretches hang that jurymen may dine. The gentlemen we have named were howled down, and thereafter relapsed into timid silence. Not so Mr. Skeffington, whose intrepid spirit manifested itself in occasional skirmishes during the rest of the proceedings. Then Mr. Ginnell suggested that Irish patriots would be better occupied organising Irish industries and cutting hazels than in supporting “a renegade and treacherous Liberal Government,” but his proposal got the reception that might be expected from gentlemen who find the task of supporting treacherous Ministers, at a sufficient weekly wage, more lucrative and less toilsome than the proposed alternative. By this time the Convention was getting into the higher regions of politics, and a terrific storm raged

round the question whether membership of the National Liberal Club was consistent with genuine disloyalty. The fathers of the people maintained their dignity and decorum by refusing to hear Mr. Keane of Kilkenny upon this momentous subject, and Mr. Redmond demonstrated the prevailing harmony by ignoring the amendments, and declaring the original motion of confidence in the Irish party carried.

Having thus laid the foundations of good order and friendly feeling, the "representative men" of Ireland settled down to demonstrate their capacity for self-government by a judicial discussion of the question of Land Purchase. It is infinitely to their credit that Mr. Redmond was able to speak without interruption, and so apparently thought the delegates; for, after this unusual effort of self-restraint, they proceeded to reward themselves by listening to nobody else, not even to a man who had grown grey in their service. If anyone doubts the capacity of Ireland for self-government, let him figure to himself the scene in the Dublin Mansion House, and his hesitation will vanish like a mist. A tall wild figure trying to show how a certain measure will defeat its own object, and will injure his countrymen; other wild figures shaking their fists and howling like the demons of the pit; yet other wild figures emerging from the chaos, and charging the platform. And on the platform itself the grave and reverend (literally reverend) seniors of Ireland surging and swaying round the unkempt dishevelled orator. The dauntless Father Clancy, uttering winged words which no one hears, is overborne by the dignity and decorum of the United Irish League; a mingled scrummage of Senators and priests uphold their nation's honour by reeling to and fro *coram populo*; for a moment, Mr. Redmond's gratification at the high breeding and dispassionate judgment of his representative supporters is shaken, as the struggling bunch of humanity violates the sanctity of the Presidential chair. But only for a moment. True to the fine tradition which hears the voice of the people in the ululations of a faction, he applies the closure—*fas est ab hoste doceri*—and the great heart and voice of Ireland are placed at Mr. Birrell's disposal.

Amusing, is it not? Well, that depends on how you regard it. There were once two philosophers in whom the facts of existence awoke different emotions. One they drove to inextinguishable laughter, the other they moved to tears. So to an outsider the knock-about turn at the Mansion House will provide excellent food for mirth; to an Irishman it will bring shame—and fear. It has been said that through Irish humour runs a strain of sadness; now it would seem that Ireland's tragedies are infected with farce. And yet, behind all the farce looms tragedy, grim and forbidding. Perhaps even Mr. Redmond, as he struck Mr. O'Brien down, must have felt some such chill as Macbeth felt at the feast. Perhaps he saw the ghosts of past Conventions, where leaders were done to death. It reads like a chapter from the annals of a South American Republic, this history of Irish Conventions. Parnell killed Butt, Healy killed Parnell, O'Brien killed Healy, Redmond has killed O'Brien. It is thus that Revolution devours its children. Mr. Redmond cannot but have wondered who will be the "First Murderer" in the next act.

There are others, too, who will see more of the serio than of the comic side of the entertainment provided at the Mansion House. The loyal minority will wonder what treatment a dominant National party will mete out to them, if this be a sample of their toleration to their own friends. It was not in the Convention alone that the dignity and decorum

of the patriots found expression. On Thursday, the members of the Parliamentary party met in solemn conclave. Mr. Ginnell so far forgot himself as to ask certain questions about the party funds,—perhaps “the ghost has not been walking” lately. He went so far as to hint that an audit of the accounts would not be out of place; that the subscribers—the publicans of Ireland, and the housemaids of New York—would like to know what was being done with their money. He was promptly “overborne with the strong hand,” as Mr. Redmond, in the most gentlemanly manner possible, has warned the loyalists of Ulster that they will be overborne if they do not make friends with their adversaries quickly. Mr. Ginnell is a stout fellow; he would seem to have asserted his privilege of free speech with dignity and decorum, for dreadful rumours are afloat of blackened eyes, and of patriotic blood shed for Ireland, as Sarsfield wished that his had been. But in vain; offended virtue fired Mr. Ginnell—the modern St. Patrick—into the street, and turned the key against him.

So let us leave this splendid band of patriots, dignified and decorous, upholding their country's credit on Atlantean shoulders, this band of brothers

Fighting like devils for conciliation,
Hating each other for the love of God.

And yet we know not in what mood to part from them. Once a friend told Sheridan, after the production of one of his comedies, that the jealous Cumberland had sat looking on without a smile. “That's d——d ungrateful of him,” replied Sheridan, “for I am sure I have always laughed consumedly at his tragedies.” Our dilemma is worse, for we know not whether this be tragedy or farce; we know not whether to imitate the laughing philosopher, or him who wept.

“Dignity and Decorum” at the Nationalist Convention.

“Ireland's capacity for self-government will be judged at home and abroad by the conduct of this assembly.”—Mr. Redmond, Convention, February 9.

“... Mr. Cruise O'Brien moved an addendum to the resolution. ... His remarks were received with cries of ‘Time's up,’ ‘go home, young fellow,’ and for a considerable period much disorder prevailed. . .”

“... Mr. Sheehy Skeffington, on rising to support the resolution, was received with cries of ‘Vote, vote.’ . . Disorder again broke out, and Mr. Skeffington was shouted down. . .

“... Mr. Ginnell, M.P., on advancing to speak, was received with groans and hisses. . . . The chairman appealed for a hearing for Mr. Ginnell, but the audience did not in the smallest degree abate their hostility to the speaker. . . . After a further unsuccessful effort to make himself heard, Mr. Ginnell retired amidst cheers.

“Mr. E. T. Keane, of Kilkenny, rose to submit the motion, and his appearance recalled a storm of opposition, similar to that which drowned Mr. Ginnell's voice. . . .

“Mr. William O'Brien rose to speak amidst cheers and groans. When he had been standing on his feet for some time, and before he had commenced his address, a scene of considerable disorder arose, many men in the body of the hall shouting and groaning vigorously. . .

“At this stage, Mr. Crean, M.P., made a rapid move in the direction

of the chairman. . . . Mr. Crean was seized by Mr. Flavin, M.P., and a steward, who tried to force him back, and a struggle ensued. Father Clancy, of Kilkee, rushed to Mr. Crean's aid, and in a few seconds a dozen persons, including Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., Mr. John Fitzgibbon, Mr. Flavin, Mr. Crean, and Father Clancy, were seen to be involved in hand-grips. Mr. Devlin was pushed violently by somebody . . . and he was observed dealing a vigorous blow in return. . . .

"The interruptions at this stage became so loud and continuous that Mr. O'Brien's voice could only occasionally be heard."

" . . . Mr. O'Brien then retired, amidst groans.

"Mr. Thomas O'Donnell, M.P., on rising to second the resolution, was received with a storm of groans and some cheering. The greater part of his address was inaudible, for the audience kept up an incessant clamour. . . . For several minutes the din was tremendous. Loud cheers and groans marked the feeling of the different parties, and the rest of Mr. O'Donnell's speech was delivered in dumb show. Several times he tried to make himself heard above the tumult, but without effect, and eventually he had to retire, his departure from the platform giving rise to a tremendous outburst of cheering. . . ."

A further display of Nationalist "dignity and decorum" was afforded by the Irish Parliamentary party at the meeting on Thursday, February 11.

Mr. Ginnell, M.P., desiring an examination and discussion of the party's financial accounts, and alleging "that the funds contributed by Nationalists in Ireland and elsewhere were being used by a small set of members to attack and undermine in the country another set of their own colleagues," pressed his point with so much insistence that the "dignity and decorum" of his fellow M.P.'s vanished. Mr. Ginnell was, to use his own words, "dragged out of the room, and the door locked against me." We learn also that Mr. Ginnell's summary ejection was not effected without disaster, as Mr. John Cullinan, M.P., who officiated, was seen with a scratched and bleeding cheek, which he endeavoured to cover with a handkerchief.

The official report, it is hardly necessary to add, is silent on the matter.

"The Convention carried on its business, on the whole, in my opinion, with dignity and decorum."—Mr. Redmond at the close of the Convention, February 10.

The Impressions of M.P.'s.

From the *Dublin Daily Express* (February 13):—

"A meeting of the Cork Branch of the United Irish League was held to-night to make arrangements in connection with the arrival of Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., in the city on next Wednesday night, when the hon. member will deliver an address. Mr. A. Roche, M.P., presided, and he was supported by Mr. E. Crean, M.P., and Mr. D. D. Sheehan, M.P., and a large company.

"The Chairman, referring to the Convention, said it was entirely discreditable and a disgrace to Ireland.

"Mr. Crean, in the course of a long speech, dealing with the events at the Convention, mentioned that an excursion train was run from Belfast filled with rowdies from Belfast. He complained that before the Convention opened they were put in all parts of

the hall. Mr. O'Brien, with his 40 years' experience and work for Ireland, was shouted down as if he were a fiend out of hell. He verily believed if Mr. O'Brien were a black Orangeman from the North of Ireland, who from the time he could speak always cried 'To hell with the Pope,' he would have got a better and more decent hearing than William O'Brien did at this Nationalist assembly. He was subjected to the vilest abuse for an hour, and was not able to make his views heard. The gang brought down from Belfast, Mr. Crean alleged, were paid 10s. each, and one of the ruffians who assaulted him (Mr. Crean) on the platform had a Northern accent. A batch of them were on the platform, and surrounded the Southern contingent. They were armed with batons tied to their wrists. One of them was raised over Mr. Gilhooly's head, and the wielder said, 'I will slaughter you,' but another man interfered to prevent injury being done. This all took place two yards from John Redmond's chair. The Convention suddenly closed at four o'clock, because the rowdy excursionists had to catch their train to Belfast. It was a mockery to call that a deliberative assembly, and many men who went to that assembly with their minds prejudiced against Mr. O'Brien and his principles came away with changed views, and said in all their lives they never witnessed such ruffianly conduct. More than once he (Mr. Crean) could see that some of the men who disturbed the Convention, not content with howling down Mr. O'Brien and every man who did not laud up Mr. Redmond and his party, came behind Mr. O'Brien when he was speaking, and showered the vilest insults and abuse upon his wife.

"Mr. D. D. Sheehan followed, and stated that clergymen got up and appealed for order and a cessation of this frightful language, and, the appeal being vain, they left the hall in disgust."

Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., speaking at Cork on February 17, gave some interesting disclosures respecting the recent Nationalist Convention. He said:—

"I knew as well what was before me when I walked into that hall as I did when it was over. The whole trouble of the whole disgrace came from a special train-load, imported from Belfast, of Mr. Devlin's Board of Erin Secret Society, known throughout Ulster as the 'Molly Maguires.' These men were hired at 10s. a day—I say it distinctly, and I will say nothing here to-night that I am not able to prove in a court of justice. These men were armed with sackfuls of specially manufactured boxwood bludgeons, strapped to their wrists by leathern thongs. I have got one of them here. (Mr. O'Brien held up a weapon of the description he had named. There were hisses, and a voice, 'There's the evidence.') As you see, a murderous weapon which would break a man's skull as easily as an eggshell. (Hisses.) Three hundred and fifty men armed like that were planted over the hall in batches, and by the most brutal threats, and by a display of these murderous weapons, they literally beat into silence and into subjection the mass of that Convention, while they themselves were howling down all attempts at free speech, or a free vote. (Hisses.) . . .

"When they came to speak against the (Land) Bill, it was impossible for the mass of the Convention to hear a single uninter-

rupted sentence of the other side, and this by means of the most frantic howling, and the most cowardly and bestial threats and filthiest language that ever polluted the lips of beings in human shape. They spent two hours howling down Father Clancy, T. O'Donnell, and myself. When Mr. Healy, the greatest living authority upon the Irish land question, arrived on the platform, Mr. Dillon, who had been taking copious notes for a speech, instantly fell into a panic. He bundled his notes into his pocket, and immediately passed the word to have Father Clancy closed and gagged, and before half the Convention knew what was going on the whole thing was over, and Mr. Redmond had the shamelessness to announce that only ten men in the hall opposed the Birrell Bill. But over 150 delegates waited upon me after all was over, and many of them confessed to me that they dare not even raise their hands because of the scoundrels who were around them."—*Cork Constitution*, February 18.

Nationalist Comment.

The Irish Independent (February 11):—

"We affect no astonishment at the avidity with which the Unionist Press has seized upon the disorder at the Convention and treated it as a practical demonstration of Ireland's unfitness for self-government. . . . The conduct of those who banded themselves together for the suppression of free speech at the Convention was disgraceful, and the pity of it is that it should be in the power of such as these to discredit the Home Rule cause. . . . We should be less disposed to pay attention to the comments of Unionist critics at Ireland's alleged incapacity to rule herself, if we could forget how much has been done to give colour to the charges of intolerance and contempt for fair-play by the conduct of one section of Nationalists towards another."

Sinn Féin (February 13):—

"On Tuesday and Wednesday of this week what purported to be 'a National Convention' was held in the Mansion House, Dublin, under the chairmanship of Mr. John Redmond, M.P. Tickets for the Convention were freely distributed on Friday and Saturday last in Dublin, to persons without any representative status, but who agreed to the conditions imposed by the distributors. A number of rapsallions were hired at from 5s. to 10s. for the two days, and directed to refuse a hearing to Mr. William O'Brien and all persons attempting to criticise the party—a large force of thugs was also imported from Belfast and given similar instructions. The result was the most disgraceful scene ever witnessed in the Dublin Mansion House, culminating after hours of pandemonium in a free fight. Some public bodies in Ireland were foolish enough to send delegates to attend this bogus Convention—we trust they learned common-sense from Tuesday's proceedings. The *Freeman's Journal* and the *Independent* print resolutions which they gravely allege were adopted by 'the Convention.' Nothing was adopted—the agenda as drafted and arranged by the Parliamentary party was passed by the expedient of filling the hall with bogus delegates and

hired roughs with orders to shout down all opposition. The proceedings of the 'Convention' were an insult to every decent man and woman in Ireland, and any motions 'adopted' by it, whether for or against Home Rule, the Irish language, the land question, or any other subject whatsoever, can have no weight with any self-respecting person."

Irish Catholic (February 13):—

"Few patriotic or self-respecting Irishmen or Irishwomen will be likely to read without a sense of profound disgust and pain the reports which have appeared in the daily Press of the proceedings at the meeting of the so-called National Convention, which assembled on Tuesday in the Mansion House. A glance at the roll of delegates is alone sufficient to show that the Convention was in no true sense of the word representative. . .

"To style such a gathering a 'National' Convention is preposterous. It was no more 'National' in its composition than is the annual convention of the Hairdressers' Assistants' Association. . .

"No one in Ireland will want Home Rule if it is to be accompanied in a native Parliament by the establishment of similar tyranny of blackguardism as reigned triumphant in the Round Room. This much, at any rate, is certain—that the organisers of Monday's disorder struck a foul blow and traitorous at the very heart of the National cause, for to-day every enemy of Home Rule is jubilant, pointing to the rowdies and bludgeon-men of the Convention as typical of the members of a modern Irish Parliament.

"What is sought to be established is the tyranny of political blackguardism and cornerboyism, while freedom of speech is only to exist at the mercy of the lictors of the League. This is not Nationality, although to the stipendiary patriot it may seem the surest guarantee of the permanence of his employment, inasmuch as it indefinitely postpones the realisation of the aspirations of true Nationalists."

THE "TERROR" IN IRELAND.

LETTERS TO "*THE TIMES*"

BY

IAN MALCOLM.

I.

"SIR,—I cannot help thinking that the narrative of my experiences of the last two days will bring home to the British public the state of lawlessness to which the present Government has reduced Ireland.

"I am staying in the house of Mr. Charles Clarke at Holycross, near Thurles, one of the most turbulent towns in the country. Mr. Clarke, as is now well known, is completely boycotted; so also are his employees and their dependents, numbering over 100 souls. Why is he boycotted? He never evicted a tenant; he is a permanently resident Irish landlord, paying over £1,000 a year in wages; he has sold all his land to tenants, except 1,000 acres which he keeps as a pleasure ground and works as a home farm. This land, however, is coveted—every bit of it—by the populace, who are determined to make his life unbearable until they get it.

"From Thurles Station I was driven to the house, some four miles distant. There I saw the front door and windows damaged and smashed by the mob which assaulted the house in November last. Mrs. Clarke asks if the bread has come; there is none in the house, and no man dares to supply it in the neighbourhood; if it does not arrive from Dublin the household goes breadless—that is all. To prevent the employees from starving a shop has been opened in this house where they can buy tea and bacon, flour and tobacco, and other necessities of life. Otherwise they too would starve. These articles are supplied by train from a distance by such tradesmen as still have the courage to deal with a boycotted man.

"In the afternoon we visited the farm and the pleasure ground, which is called demesne land. To guard this there is, first of all, a police barrack with a sergeant and five men. Further on the gamekeeper's cottage is turned into a residence for a head constable and five men. The butler's house contains seven policemen, and these two last-named detachments are detailed to protect the labourers and the cattle from attack. In the evening I count five policemen living in this house, and all night long I could hear the tramp of their patrol as they paced the gravel paths with loaded shot guns.

"When Mr. Clarke goes as a Crown witness in broad daylight to the trials in Thurles or Cashel armed policemen ride upon his motor car and a force of two or three hundred constabulary line the streets of the town to enable him to reach the Court-house in safety. When Mrs. Clarke goes out to tea with a neighbour after dark she is escorted by armed police on bicycles. At Christmas time my host received an anonymous postcard announcing that it was his last Christmas here, and warning him to clear out whilst he had brains in his head and 'the price of a glass.'

"On Sunday worship in the Protestant church at Holycross was seriously disturbed by the band of the United Irish League playing outside; and when the Holy Communion service was about to begin a waggonette drew up before the church door and its cargo of ruffians began yelling and hooting and drum beating—supposing Mr. and Mrs. Clarke to be within.

"This shows the state of siege in which these people and their poor dependents live week in and week out. Meanwhile the boycotting loses to Holycross and Thurles about £400 a year from Mr. Clarke's employees, besides the large orders formerly given by Mr. Clarke himself to local tradesmen, making £1,000 a year in all; the cost of all the extra police falls upon the rates. Is it conceivable that such a state of things can be tolerated under the British flag? The tyranny of Kruger was a joke to it. The sovereignty of mob law goes unchallenged here as in other parts of Ireland, and grows mightier every day. It leads me seriously to think that, through force of circumstances, the first policy of the next Unionist Government will have to be to build up the edifice of law and order in Ireland which has been so completely demolished by Mr. Birrell and his friends, and to restore to its ancient position the dignity of the British flag.

"Your obedient servant,

"IAN MALCOLM.

"Graiguenoe Park, Thurles, Ireland.

"February 2."

—*Times*, February 5, 1909.

II.

"SIR,—May I be allowed, without further preface, to set down some personal impressions of my last visit to Ireland, which terminated on February 4? They incline me to sympathise with the bitter reflection of a boycotted farmer when he said to me: 'You send your missionaries and your armies to the ends of the earth to convert and pacify heathen tribes, but the law-abiding people of Ireland you leave to suffer—alone.'

"Of many of these sufferings I have been an eye-witness; of others I have been told by their victims. The misery of the aged family of Constable Goldrick, who was murdered a fortnight ago near Craughwell by British subjects, bears eloquent testimony to the terror wrought by the wholesale traffic in firearms permitted by Mr. Birrell against the advice of every authority in Ireland responsible for the maintenance of law and order. This family is now destitute, but I am informed that the coroner's jury at the inquest was only just persuaded to give it a vote of sympathy. The emergency-men who were wounded at the same time by the same armed blackguards are further victims of the Craughwell Secret Societies; I trust that they will be compensated not less generously than their fellow-subjects in Tottenham who were shot by Russian aliens.

"But the terror of a living death by boycotting is almost more agonising than the fear of sudden death at the hand of a masked assassin. The law of the United Irish League enforces it; the law of King Edward VII. is powerless to prevent it and the statutes of Edward III.

are mocked at and derided whenever they are invoked. I have within the past fortnight paid a number of visits to boycotted people in the most disturbed districts in Ireland, and the tale of their sufferings is amazing in a civilised land. A year ago I wrote in your columns, Sir, about the McCanns in co. Longford. Then they were boycotted so that they could neither sell nor buy in fairs or markets; they are boycotted still, but they won't give in to the League, and theirs is an example of unconquerable courage to their humbler neighbours who are similarly treated. The other day I held in my hand a cheque returned to them by a Dublin baker (they cannot get bread nearer than that) who was craven enough to refuse to supply them at the bidding of the League; and another cheque returned by a man from whom they had bought some cattle which he was forbidden to send forward to them. The day before my visit they had been waylaid by a mob on the road, and Mrs. McCann narrowly escaped being killed by a stone the size of a pear which whizzed past her ear. I also saw the man who, last year, was refused wood to make a coffin for his dead brother—an old soldier who had served in the Crimea—because he had worked for a boycotted man. This man is completely isolated still; no man may even be seen speaking to him.

"Elsewhere I came across a milkman whose story is significant. He has a tiny holding, which he rents from a "condemned" man and works with his family and no outside help. He is completely boycotted; no man or woman may buy his milk in the town; the wives of married soldiers quartered there are told that, if they buy it, they will be turned out of their lodgings, which they hold on a weekly tenancy, and no one else will take them in. He sold a few apples to one poor fellow; he is now boycotted too. His little boy was sent away from the National School by the schoolmaster for no other reason than because he was the son of "boycotts." His mother then went to the parish priest, who eluded her and left his house by the back entrance. She carried her complaint to the Bishop, who asked why the boy had been expelled. She answered, 'Because we are "boycotts."' 'Why so?' asked his Lordship. 'For taking a small piece of condemned land,' replied the mother. 'Isn't boycotting the penalty they always inflict for that?' queried the dignitary of a Christian Church. The little boy is still absent from school, but no summons has been issued to compel his attendance; the evidence might be awkward. His little sisters in another school were continually annoyed by the other children writing boycotting notices on their slates; with great pluck they threatened to report the nuns if this was allowed to continue, and the petty tyranny stopped; but they are constantly stoned as they leave school for home. Nobody will sit next either the father or mother in church.

"Poverty is no bar to the oppression of the League. I saw a poor old man working on a farm of something over 100 acres with a bit of bog land attached to it. He is completely boycotted because he has a little more bog than his neighbours, and they want it for themselves. Therefore he is 'drummed,' and no man may speak to him; he is 'watched' all the time. Exactly the same treatment is meted out to the workmen who have faithfully stood by Mr. Clarke, of Holycross; they cannot buy anything in the village, and would literally starve if their employer had not opened a store for them in his own residence. And the same outrageous vengeance is wreaked upon three poor maidservants of another

friend of mine who is 'under the ban'; they go to Mass on Sundays attended by three armed policemen.

"Then I saw Robert Geelan, of Newtownforbes, another victim of the League, a small farmer who is under sentence for refusing to join that nefarious society. He was condemned in due form by the League courts and is ostracized as though he were a leper; he is nearly ruined by this action, but the majesty of British law dare not interfere to protect him. Again, on a market day in a certain town in another county, I saw a tradesman's shop closed up owing to the complete boycott of its owner by the League. From the moment he was condemned his customers ceased calling; other tradesmen have refused to supply him; bands hoot and groan before his place of business in the main street. He wrote to me: 'I know that several people sympathise with me, but, owing to the reign of terror which hangs over the place, they dare not show their feelings, and for the past six weeks my family and myself have lived a miserable life. My relatives are all anxious I should surrender to the League and subscribe to their funds and apologise. All that is against my principles; every one who gives in strengthens their hand.'

"Such are a few instances of how the terror has spread in Ireland during the past few months, for it is far worse than it was 12 months ago. If your space permitted I could give as many more, and so could any man who, having the true prosperity of Ireland at heart, would go over and look into the question for himself. This much I will say, that the United Irish League glories in its work and makes no effort to hide it. The baser nature is that which has the power to crush it, but dares not do so; and this power belongs indirectly to every voter in the United Kingdom. Under the present Government I venture to assert deliberately that certain parts of Ireland are more dangerous and difficult for a loyalist to live in than any part of the Empire, however savage and uncivilised, and I have visited many of these. Mr. Birrell knows it; Lord Aberdeen knows it; the Irish Judges know it; and the juries 'delight to have it so.' Meanwhile, it is only rebellion that pays, and terror stalks abroad through the land.

"Your obedient servant,

"IAN MALCOLM."

—*The Times*, February 9, 1909.

III.

"SIR,—The 'mad and wicked dissensions' of the Nationalist party at the recent Convention in Dublin have demonstrated how criminally foolish it would be to entrust the government of any thing or any body to such a collection of political Furies. 'Ireland's capacity for self-government will be judged at home and abroad by the conduct of this assembly,' said Mr. John Redmond in opening the Convention, of which he was chairman. Yet the behaviour of the meeting—carefully packed though it had been in order to keep out the *maximum* of dissidents—was of a kind that pandemonium would forbid within its precincts. Every newspaper report, emanating from whatever political side, tells the same story—of uproar and violence and indignity whenever sentiments were uttered at variance with the views of the official majority; of Mr. O'Brien and his friends howled down when moving an amendment

to the Land Bill ; of Mr. Ginnell, who has done the dirty work of cattle-driving for the League for so long, forcibly ejected from a meeting of the party when he asked for an examination of the party funds ! And after scenes like these Dr. Douglas Hyde could find courage to say, ' Judge us by our actions ! '

" That is exactly what the people of Great Britain ought to do, and then decide whether a representative body of this kind is fit to manage a Parliament or a people. For these scenes of turbulence, enacted by members of the same fraternity, are of daily occurrence in the country towns and districts of Ireland ; cattle are driven, houses are fired into, the boycott is enforced in the out-of-the-way districts, and very little is heard of these things, though they are the works of the United Irish League ; but when one or two M.P.'s are roughly handled in the Rotunda by the same society we begin to take notice, and people in England begin to understand something of the power of ' The League. '

" In my last letter I ventured to give, from my own knowledge, a number of instances of personal hardship undergone by individuals who will not bow to the present tyranny. I might have gone on to mention a score or more of loyalists of every class, professional and industrial and labouring, who told me that they were forced to take the League ticket, or to add to its subscription lists, or to boycott those whom it condemned, in order to be allowed to live in peace. They look to the League for protection now that the law has forsaken them. I know two station-masters who were told by branch secretaries of this widespread conspiracy that they were not to deliver goods sent to boycotted people ; I know districts where ' condemned ' persons have learned by experience that it is wisest to seal any letters which they desire to send by post. The League has as little respect for the secrecy of the Post Office as it has for the person of the process-server, whose business has now become so dangerous that it is virtually abandoned in certain parts of the country.

" But mob-law has its say in education, too. When I was at Holycross recently I saw that the school was closed. On inquiring the reason I was informed that it was because the people objected to the new teacher, who had just been appointed by the parish priest. On arriving to take up his duties he was met by an excited collection of villagers who said that they would not have him among them, that their children should not attend the school, and that he must leave ; so he left—at once. The crowd then announced that they intended to elect a boy, aged 16, and totally unqualified, as head-teacher, who should be instructed for a while in his duties by a paid assistant from elsewhere. As a consequence the school was closed for a fortnight and reopened last Monday. I should add that the mob was, of course, one of the Leaguers.

" Lately I have received many letters from Liberals, pointing out that all this violence and boycotting is not nearly so bad as it has been, and that it really cannot be helped in places where the populace refuse to co-operate in enforcing the law. To prove the truth of this assertion they must go back 21 years, to 1887, when Lord Salisbury had just succeeded to Mr. Gladstone's five years' tenure of office. On July 19 of that year the Crimes Act received the Royal Assent ; and to show what the law can do (whether the populace co-operates or no) I will make a short quotation from a letter to *The Times* of March 25, 1889, by Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P. : ' On the 31st August, 1887, there were 4,556 persons

boycotted in Ireland. On the 31st of December, 1887, the number had fallen to 2,469. On the 31st of December, 1888, it stood at 712.' And so successfully did this law continue to operate that in 1892 the then Chief Secretary (Mr. W. L. Jackson, M.P.) was able to say on March 16, at Leeds: 'On December 31, 1891, there was not a single person boycotted either wholly or partially.' But now, in December, 1908, we find 840 persons boycotted, after three years of Radical misrule; and it is not too much to charge Mr. Birrell and his colleagues with making these people's lives a hell upon earth, since past history shows that the enforcement of the Crimes Act is amply sufficient to suppress boycotting in all its hideous shapes and forms. And I believe, moreover, that, if my correspondents were to consult the authorities responsible for law and order in Ireland, they would have to alter their opinions considerably. They would learn that, in the disturbed districts (*i.e.*, in 22 counties out of 32) the general terror is even more serious than it has been for years past; the organisation is so complete that a certain physical crime which bears an ugly name is no longer necessary to bring 'offenders' to their knees, and obedience to the League's command can be ensured by less risky means. They would also discover that the methods of this society are far cleverer and more effective than ever before under any of the League's *aliases*.

"Let me give some illustrations of its cunning. There is now a certain risk to any branch of the League if it publishes the fact that 'so-and-so' is 'condemned' and must be avoided. Another phraseology is, therefore, adopted; it is announced that 'Michael Murphy attended the last meeting of the X branch and apologised for dealing with (or for having spoken to)' "so-and-so." This answers exactly the same purpose; it proclaims the name of the man who is 'under the ban'; but poor Michael Murphy probably knew that quite well and had nothing to apologise for. Again, the other day a boycotted man showed me the card of a local race-meeting at which he had the temerity to run his horses. At the bottom of the card there was an announcement that the stewards (who were well-known Leaguers) hoped that the public would give fair play to Mr. Z's horses. 'Don't nail his ears to the pump.'

"Another common form of evading punishment is for a number of men to graze their cattle on a certain field and for all but one of them to refuse to pay rent. It will be seen that the only redress is to seize the cattle in payment. But if a single bullock (out of 100 head) be seized which belongs to the 'one just man' (and this can be easily arranged), then the plaintiff becomes the accused party, and free-grazing continues. Then, again, the Labourers' Cottages Act is used for purposes of illegal pressure. If a landlord is 'unpopular' or if a magistrate convicts a Leaguer, it sometimes happens that a short time afterwards the local council uses its powers to apply for leave to erect labourers' cottages on the sites which it knows to be most inconvenient to the landlord or magistrate. They can thus ruin his property by invoking the law. In this connection it must not be forgotten that, in three provinces out of the four, these councils are the United Irish League under another name. It is a merciless confederacy against rich and poor alike. One day I was out with a friend who pointed out to me a decent old man with his head bandaged up. He had been forced to go out on a cattle-drive by the League. He had refused at first, and said his sons might go; he was told that they would have to join in any case, and that he must attend

himself. So, with a heavy heart, he trudged along until the crowd saw that they would have to meet a strong force of police. Then the old man with a few others was put in front, whilst the younger bloods threw stones at the constabulary from behind. The result was a crack over the skull from a policeman's 'baton' for this veteran Leaguer. 'What am I to do?' he asked plaintively; 'if I don't obey them I am fined £2, and if I go with them I get my head broken by the police.'

"In conclusion I may perhaps be allowed to quote from a letter just received, giving me an account of an auction held a few days ago near Newtownforbes. A young Englishman was leaving the employment of the Dowager Lady Granard.

"'This poor Englishman from Plymouth, with a large young family, has no money saved, so he advertised his furniture for sale to make a few shillings to pay his way back to England; so when the day and the hour came for the sale to commence a farming man the name of Rogers, who is boycotted by the U.I.L., and myself went over to the auction; there was a large crowd of people present. I went to the auction to buy some articles and to help to make the sale a success, and to help the poor Englishman the best way I could. When my friend Mr. Rogers, the boycotted man, gave the first bid, the whole crowd of Leaguers turned on their feet and left. They commenced to shout and hoot and blow horns, so the auctioneer had to leave and go home, and the poor Englishman had to stand alone in the middle of his furniture scattered about on the grass not knowing what to do. However, the auctioneer's carts came out from Longford and took in his goods and stored them away. He gave the poor keeper a few shillings to pay for his lodgings until he could sell his things for him. Lady Granard is mother to the King's Master of the Horse. The police were present and can confirm this report. The English people should hear of this case; it might open their eyes.'

"Such is life at the present moment in many parts of Ireland, and it is far worse for the poor than for the rich. The latter can, after all, leave the country if the worst comes to the worst; the former have got to see it through, even though they starve or turn traitors to their principles. I know that people over here are unaware of all that is going on, and that must be my excuse for this lengthy letter. But, when they do fully realise the iniquities that are being permitted in their name, I know that both Liberals and Tories who have a spark of fair play left in them will rise and rend the Government that has the power, if it but had the will, to crush the whole conspiracy as it has been crushed before.

"Your obedient servant,

"IAN MALCOLM."

—*The Times*, February 16, 1909.

THE WRECKERS.

An Open Letter to the Radical Party.

GENTLEMEN,—

There was a time, I believe, when the world of Art was rent by the dissension between two great schools of thought—that which held that Nature should be depicted as it is, and that which stood for the presentation of Nature as it ought to be. That conflict ended, as all such conflicts must end, in the triumph of truth over fancy. It might be thought that such a controversy would be possible only in a sphere which, like Art, must be largely subjective. But you are now demonstrating the futility of such a theory by the curious idealism with which you are investing political phenomena, which of all things ought to be treated as undraped realities.

Illustrations of this statement might be found in various directions ; for the moment I am content to ask you to consider how far your idealism has led you astray on the question of Home Rule. It is not surprising that it should be so. Nothing so lends itself to the revellings of a picturesque imagination as the idea of national independence. A thousand beautiful thoughts spring into existence at the mention of a nation "writhing under oppression" ; the mind is nobly stirred by the picture of a people striving to burst their chains under the guidance of leaders who combine all the finest qualities of Tell, Hofer, Hampden, and George Washington—men, single-minded and self-sacrificing, who spend themselves in arduous toil to elevate and enfranchise their people. Such a picture is calculated to awaken your generous instincts, and to lull to sleep any misgivings which you may chance to feel as to the effect which Home Rule may have upon Great Britain and the Empire. While I hold that even noble enthusiasm should be regulated by prudent calculation, I am ready to admit that such a conception of the Nationalist cause might justify some sentimental aberrations, *if it were true*. But how if it be not true ; if it be merely the figment of a too ardent idealism, a mental picture of things as they ought to be, not as they are ?

The dethronement of ideals is always a painful task, sometimes a thankless office, yet it is my duty to ask you to consider things Irish in a critical and practical, rather than imaginative, spirit. For that purpose I present to you a picture of Irish Nationalism, limned by an artist whose authority you will not question—Mr. William O'Brien, M.P. You know his doctrines and his record—has he not suffered martyrdom, even to the extent of going homeless, in the cause of Irish freedom ? You cannot dismiss his opinions as you would dismiss the theories of a member of the British garrison. And here is Mr. O'Brien's picture of the aims and methods of the United Irish League, extracted from his paper—the *Irish People*.

"It is the avowed and settled policy of the men who control the Irish party that agitation must be continued for its own sake, that

poverty and misery must be perpetuated, and that the object to aim at is not to make the people prosperous, self-reliant, and independent, but to keep them serfs and paupers in order to win self-government."

Do not, I beg you, skim over this passage as you might skim over the Odyssey of Miss Charlesworth, or the account of a football match. Every line and word is pregnant with meaning and instruction. Observe first the charge that it is the avowed and settled policy of the League to pursue agitation for its own sake, and consider what it means. Against legitimate agitation there is nothing to be said. We are all agitators in the sense that we will move heaven and earth to maintain or obtain what we hold to be right. Probably no great cause has ever been won without agitation, but then—there has been a cause. Here the end and the means are one and the same—agitation for the sake of agitation, that is, for the sake of the agitators. Agitation for the sake of others we can understand and respect, even if we do not agree with its policy; but agitation concocted by men for their own advantage—to gratify their personal ambitions, to bring them the sordid rewards, direct and indirect, of notoriety! Bah! one's gorge rises at it. The man who has sold his land for 27 years' purchase, and howls at the extortion of those who want 20; the emigration agent who pockets his profits while he "holds his pocket handkerchief before his streaming eyes" as he bewails the depopulation of Ireland; the patriot who struts at Westminster while he apologises to his landlord for being an M.P. on the ground that the salary is "mighty convenient"; the champions of Ireland's freedom who ruthlessly boycott Irish liberty; the hysterical sympathisers with Mr. Farrell, whose paper has offended England, who straightway boycott Mr. O'Donnell, whose paper has offended themselves; the Janus who is an Imperialist in London and a rebel in New York; the gallant creatures who cut the hazel sticks and leave others to use them while they grumble at the cost of the strawberries on the Terrace—these are the Hofers and Hampdens of your imagination.

Of course you will reply that it is inaccurate to say that these men have no cause, that they are fighting for Home Rule, and that, after all, a cause must be differentiated from the private eccentricities of its agents. To this, as a general proposition, I agree, with the remark that the traits I have described are not merely private, but are incidents of public conduct, not unimportant in the light they shed on the honesty of the demand for Home Rule, or the prudence of conceding it. But leaving that, I will ask you to turn again to Mr. O'Brien's words. You say the object of the National party is to win self-government. Yes, but how? The answer to this is as instructive as it is essential.

You will doubtless agree with me that, at best, the success of Home Rule must be theoretical. It may turn out well, it may not. The virtue of any governmental system depends less on form than on administration. Pope's dictum will readily occur to you, and will hardly be disputed. From this point of view the methods of those who would have the administration of a self-governing Ireland become important. But let us admit that the leopard will change his spots, and that the present Parliamentarians become less self-seeking, more pure, and will display an unsuspected administrative capacity. Even so the power of self-government to improve the condition of Ireland must be theoretical; for the influence of Government on economic conditions may easily be exaggerated, it

being really the people, not the Government, who make a country. The Nationalists are thus aiming at a problematical advantage, but in the process they are creating certain and definite misery. It is the settled policy of the Irish party, says Mr. O'Brien, that "*poverty and misery must be perpetuated*," and that the people must be kept in a state of serfdom and pauperism in order to win self-government. In other passages he gives us to know how this is being done. It is by thwarting the purpose of the Land Purchase Act, an Act accepted by all parties, which has for its object the transfer of the fee simple of the land to the tenants on an annual payment, for a limited number of years, of a lesser sum than they now pay in rent which may be perpetual. It is done by forbidding the tenant farmers and tenant purchasers to hire land on which to pasture stock in which they have invested their capital. It is done by creating unrest through proposals of fantastic spoliation, by resuscitating moribund feuds, by keeping open sores which would heal were they left alone, by disorganising the one thriving trade of Ireland, and by the encouragement of lawless violence. One might understand the struggle for Home Rule taking the form of harassing the national enemy, but that it should take the form of harassing, degrading, and ruining the very people for whose benefit it is supposed to be sought is to stamp the movement with a peculiar and abnormal baseness.

How often has Home Rule been presented to us as the remedy for British misrule ! And now it appears that it is to be enforced by neutralising the beneficent results of British rule. How often have we been told that Ireland should have Home Rule because her people were worthy of it ! Now her claim is to be made good by making her people serfs and paupers, not serfs to England, mark you, nor paupers by England's doing, but serfs and paupers by the will and policy of the United Irish League. One would have thought that the League, to justify the demand for Home Rule, would have shown to the world a people "prosperous, self-reliant, and independent." But no ; according to Mr. O'Brien, that is not Mr. Redmond's conception of the part of national leader. Those qualities, so essential to a people which would govern itself, are crushed and stifled that agitation may continue and, Heaven's mercy, that Home Rule may be won !

Wicked as the policy is, it is even more foolish. A nation might conceivably grant large self-governing powers to a prosperous, self-reliant and independent people, which would refuse them to a race of serfs and paupers. For if they cannot themselves be free, how shall their country be free ; if they cannot make both ends meet for themselves, how shall they administer a nation ? The policy of the League is so palpably fatuous that it must be the outcome of design. I suggest to you that that design is simply to keep the people up to the mark. It is the last, as it is the basest, resource of the agitators. For long it has been notorious that Mr. Redmond and his friends have been hard set to keep the flame of patriotism alight. The land hunger, which formed the oxygen, was being appeased ; men who cheered Home Rule as an adjunct to agrarian reform, were content to stay on the land when they had got it, and leave Home Rule to shift for itself. The subscriptions, which were the oil, began to dry up. The tenant, who thought an annual contribution to the war chest a good investment if thereby he lowered his rent, can see no object in subscribing when he is the owner of the land dependent

solely on his own exertions. Prosperity and patriotic zeal, it was found, varied in an inverse proportion, and as patriotic zeal was the agitator's only visible means of subsistence, prosperity had to go to the wall. Mr. Redmond has no more use than had Brutus for fat men who sleep o' nights, therefore his fellow countrymen must be kept wakeful, and, above all things, lean. What a light it all throws on the reality of the demand for Home Rule that the Irish people must be ruined in order to induce them to ask for it.

Still more lurid is the glare it throws on the political witches who celebrate their unholy rites round the cauldron wherein Irish liberty and Irish prosperity are seething. And these are the men whose alliance you are seeking, who will sell you as they are willing to sell their own countrymen, as soon as they see any object in doing so. These be your gods, O Israel!

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servant,

ADAM PENNE.

THE ANTI-GRAZING AGITATION.

The agitation against the Grazing System in Ireland is no new movement. It existed for some years prior to December, 1905, when the present Government acceded to Office, but it was not until the establishment of the United Irish League in 1898 that the agitation became active. The object aimed at by the movement in this period was the breaking up of all grass lands and their subdivision into small holdings, and, as a means to this end, it was sought to prevent the stocking of pasture lands and their reletting by methods which were similar to those which had been the accompaniments of all previous agrarian movements in Ireland—namely, boycotting, intimidation, and outrage.

The late Unionist Government, however, alive to its duty to Society and to Law, recognised that the mischief was one which, if allowed to gather strength by remaining unpunished, must spread, and it accordingly did not hesitate to adopt measures designed to prevent freedom and property from being dealt with in obedience to the behests of mob violence or of an irresponsible self-constituted authority such as the United Irish League. So successful were these measures in their operation that the agitation against the Grazing System was crushed by Mr. Walter Long in the summer of 1905. He saw that the peace and prosperity of the country depended on the right of every man to act independently and to let his farms, freely and openly, being recognised and preserved. The law was vigorously enforced, and where it appeared clear that it might not avail, the provisions of the Crimes Act were resorted to and trial by special juries in the counties where the traversers resided were held without any miscarriage of justice. The result of this action was that after the July Assizes, 1905, the agitation which had in the spring of that year grown to be dangerous was absolutely crushed, grazing farms throughout the country were let and stocked without hindrance, the power for evil of the United Irish League was defeated; and when Mr. Long ceased to be Chief Secretary by the Dissolution of 1905 the country was so tranquil that, as admitted subsequently by Mr. Birrell, it was "in a more peaceful condition than for the last 600 years." The heritage of a peaceful Ireland to which Mr. Birrell testified was the heritage he received from Mr. Long and the Unionist Government. **So that for more than a year after the Dissolution** no trouble had arisen in Ireland. Contrast this condition of affairs with the condition of the country since 1907.

In that year, after Mr. Birrell's boast of a peaceful Ireland, the directions of the United Irish League respecting the disposal of grazing farms began to be enforced by what the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture in Ireland (Mr. T. W. Russell) described as the "comparatively harmless process of cattle-driving."

The harmless process consists of mobs, frequently of hundreds of persons, armed with sticks, stones, and all available weapons, breaking into private lands in the night time, often in the day time, driving and beating the cattle, sometimes more than 15 miles through the country. The driving of cattle, footsore and weary, without food or drink, many miles, in very many cases their subjection to tail cutting and other revolting mutilations, is surely a harmful and fiendish process *pace*

Mr. T. W. Russell. In no fewer than 22 out of the 32 counties of Ireland, this class of disorder has been prevalent. In eight of these counties matters have been so serious that it was necessary to proclaim them as being in a "disturbed" state, and as many as 750 additional police are required to serve in them, at an annual cost to the ratepayers and general taxpayers of the country of £47,000.

The lands must be divided up according to the behests of the United Irish League; if this be not done at once by the Government it will be done through the gentle persuasion of the League. Cattle-driving is but one form of their persuasion; the assembly of mobs of hundreds of excited peasants armed with sticks, stones, and firearms around the houses of obnoxious persons; the breaking of windows and doors to the accompaniment of musical bands is but another form of the same persuasion; and the rigorous boycotting of the unfortunate victims does not exhaust the ingenuities of this combination.

To advert to the pretence made by the present Government of dealing with this lawlessness. Down to December, 1908, there were 1,051 cattle-drives. Proceedings were instituted in 162 cases only, and no action at all was taken in 889 cases. Of the cases in which proceedings were taken, **only 2 cases, comprising 17 persons, were followed by convictions**, and 1,181 persons were ordered to find bail for good behaviour or to go to prison.

The ordinary law, according to Mr. Birrell, was sufficient to cope with this disorder. It was open to him to have tried offenders before two resident magistrates. He elected to try a large number of them by jury in the City of Dublin, an alien "venue" conducted by his two Law Officers, and after the farcical result—two convictions—he was forced to abandon these futile proceedings. The ordinary law, as now relied upon, consists of the procedure under the Act of Edward III., dated 1360, a statute which, according to eminent lawyers and legal text-books, is one for prevention, not punitive use. The proceedings consist in bringing offenders before **one** resident magistrate—one magistrate being considered to be more constitutional than two of the same class—and requiring them to enter into bail for future good behaviour. About 200 persons have gone to gaol rather than give bail, and have thus become the guests of Mr. Birrell in His Majesty's prisons. It is almost incredible that the rest have not followed suit. The stalwarts who have suffered incarceration receive every encouragement to resume their lawless occupations when they are discharged from custody. Here is a list of some of the **privileges** to which they are entitled in prison:—

They may wear their own clothing; they may be relieved from the performance of "unaccustomed tasks or duties"; they are allowed two hours' exercise daily; they may smoke while at exercise; they may have their meals supplied from outside the prison by the local branch of the United Irish League; they may drink a pint of beer daily, or, if more fastidious in their tastes, half a pint of wine; they may write freely to their friends and read all the newspapers; they are not required to take a bath on reception into the prison unless so ordered by the Governor; and, above all, these "protégés" of Mr. Birrell must not merely not associate with, but must be kept "out of the view of convicted prisoners." In short, they are treated by Mr. Birrell like fighting-cocks.

The mere recital of these privileges is surely a testimony to Mr. Birrell's oft-suspected kind-hearted sympathy with cattle-driving!

THE MEANING OF THE CRIMES ACT.

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In view of the probability that, in spite of Mr. Birrell's pledges to the Irish Nationalists that he will not resort to the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887, for the restoration of order and the vindication of the law, recourse will ultimately have to be had to the machinery of that statute for the suppression of lawlessness, it may be well to consider what are its provisions. The preamble sets forth that the Act was passed "to make better provision for the prevention and punishment of crime in Ireland," and herein lies its entire scope and value. It creates no new crimes, and it in no way affects the ordinary Criminal Code. It deals solely with offences which are crimes alike in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and it merely provides rapid and effective machinery, the greater portion of which is actually part of the ordinary law in Scotland, for dealing with an abnormal state of society in which, from causes too well known in Ireland, the ordinary process of law proves to be hopelessly ineffective. The Act may be conveniently divided into four main sections, each of which extends the existing powers of the Attorney-General, the Lord Lieutenant, and resident magistrates in dealing with organised crime in disturbed areas.

Section 1 provides a method which has more than once proved effective in overcoming the reluctance of Irish peasants to give evidence in cases of serious crime. Under the ordinary law a justice of the peace has no power to hold a sworn inquiry into any case of crime unless a person is brought before him and charged with the offence. Where, as too commonly happens in Ireland, a powerful conspiracy has so dominated the population of a disturbed area that no one dares to give information to the police, it is rarely possible to obtain, by ordinary means, evidence which would justify an arrest or prosecution of an individual. Section 1 of the Crimes Act empowers the Attorney-General, if a serious crime is committed, on the proclamation of the district by the Lord Lieutenant, to direct a resident magistrate, specially selected and approved of by the Lord Chancellor, as having sufficient legal knowledge and training, to hold a sworn inquiry, though no one be charged with the offence. This magistrate would have power to summon and compel to appear before him all persons who he has good reason to believe can give evidence as to the facts of the crime, and compel them to state on oath what they know. The actual perpetrators, and their wives or husbands, cannot be examined if they confess guilt. As an example of the value of this Section, it may be remarked that, if the present Chief Secretary desired to give effect to the demand of both Mr. John Redmond and Lord Ashtown for a sworn inquiry into the Glenaheiry bomb outrage, he had, in this portion of the Crimes Act, the only machinery available for such a purpose.

Section 2 deals with an extension of the existing power of justices of the peace in summary jurisdiction. Under the ordinary law all indictable offences—that is, all offences which are of a grave nature and amount in law to felonies or misdemeanours—can only be tried by

a judge and jury. In Ireland, as has been only too clearly shown at the present winter assizes (1907), it is entirely hopeless to arraign prisoners charged with crimes which the ruling organised conspiracy chooses to stigmatise as either political or agrarian in their nature or origin, before jurors who, either from sympathy with the motive of the crime or fear of personal injury to themselves, will not perform their duty. In dealing with organised crime the essential element of success is the certain and rapid vindication of the law of the land. Section 2 of the Crimes Act selects certain indictable offences which lie at the root of all disorder in Ireland, and authorises a court of summary jurisdiction, consisting of two resident magistrates, one at least of whom must have legal training, to try persons charged with any of these offences; and, on conviction, to sentence them to a term of imprisonment not exceeding six months. Persons thus convicted have the right of appeal to the ordinary courts of quarter sessions. The offences so selected in this Section are:—

1. Criminal conspiracy to intimidate, strictly limited to conspiracies actually punishable by the existing ordinary law.
2. Using actual violence or intimidation to induce or compel persons to forfeit a legal right.
3. Taking part in any riot or unlawful assembly.
4. Taking forcible possession of evicted houses or lands.
5. Assaulting, or wilfully and unlawfully obstructing or resisting, any minister of the law.
6. Inciting any person or persons to commit any of these offences.

The offences numbered 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6 can only be tried in districts proclaimed under the Act by the Lord Lieutenant; offence Number 3, that of riot and unlawful assembly, requires no proclamation and is practically part of the ordinary law of the land. It rests with the Chief Secretary, at any time and in any place, to direct that offenders charged with such offences may be forthwith tried by the court of summary jurisdiction. As regards the present condition of the disturbed areas in Ireland, it is absolutely certain that if the Chief Secretary had permitted the resident magistrates to use the powers which this section confers upon them in dealing with persons charged with cattle-driving and assaults on police constables and bailiffs, the disturbances might have been crushed out with the utmost ease many months ago and we should have been spared the degrading spectacle of jury after jury refusing to return verdicts on the clearest evidence, produced with all the pomp and circumstance of State trials by the highest legal officers of the Crown in Ireland. The power of dealing with persons who incite to these crimes would have effectually disposed of Mr. Ginnell and his followers, who have driven the people into the riots and affrays which are now indulged in with absolute impunity.

Sections 3 and 4 authorise the Attorney-General, in cases in which persons are charged with crimes committed in a proclaimed district, to have a special jury empanelled, and also to have the trial of the prisoners held in another county. Under the ordinary law a change of venue can only be obtained on its being shown conclusively to the High Court of Justice that there is no probability of a fair trial being

had in the original county in which the offence was committed. It was under this provision of the ordinary law that the Attorney-General succeeded in changing the venue in the cattle-driving cases from Galway, Roscommon, and Longford to Dublin and elsewhere. The demoralisation of Irish jurors is, however, now so complete and so widespread that the change of venue had no practical effect.

Section 6 empowers the Lord Lieutenant to declare any organisation in Ireland formed for the commission of crime, aiding, encouraging, promoting, or inciting to crime, violence, or intimidation, or interfering with the administration of the law, to be a dangerous association. On the promulgation of the decision of the Lord Lieutenant, all meetings of such an organisation are liable to be dealt with as unlawful assemblies. This Section is perhaps the least practical portion of the Act. It has been rarely used and cannot be said to have been altogether effective in its object. It, however, places in the hands of the Irish Executive a weapon which may prove very valuable as a last resource in a vigorous effort to restore order and vindicate the elementary principles of justice which are being dragged in the mire by the present executive in Ireland, if the existing widespread organisations in Ireland for the purpose of sedition and interference with the rights of property and the freedom and liberty of the subject go much further in their march towards complete social disruption.

It is much to be feared that, in the existing utter contempt for the law, which will be seriously intensified by the recent failures of justice at the winter assizes (1907), this march towards disruption will assume a phase which even the most stringent provisions of the Crimes Act may prove insufficient to arrest without much disturbance and much suffering to individuals.

IRISH DIARY.

1909.

January 27.—Ulster Unionist Council at Belfast. Annual conference. Speeches by the Marquis of Londonderry and Earl Cawdor.

January 29.—Mr. S. H. Butcher, M.P., at Oxford, and Sir E. Carson, M.P., at Marylebone, on the condition of Ireland.

February 1.—Lord Midleton at Eastbourne, on Irish affairs.

February 5.—Letter by Mr. Ian Malcolm to the *Times*. Sir E. Carson, M.P., at Brierley Hill, on condition of Ireland.

February 9.—Letter by Mr. Ian Malcolm to the *Times*.

February 9 and 10.—Meeting in Dublin of the Nationalist Convention. Speeches by Mr. J. Redmond, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. O'Brien.

February 10.—Sir E. Carson, M.P., at Putney, on Irish affairs.

February 11.—Mr. J. Redmond, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Devlin, and Mr. O'Connor at Belfast.

February 12.—Mr. Dillon in Belfast. Meeting of Irish Landowners' Convention in Dublin.

February 16.—Opening of Parliament. The Address. Speeches on condition of Ireland: HOUSE OF LORDS—Marquis of Lansdowne and Lord Crewe. HOUSE OF COMMONS—Mr. Balfour and Mr. Asquith. Letter by Mr. Ian Malcolm to the *Times*.

February 17.—HOUSE OF LORDS—Debate on the Address. Speeches by Lord Londonderry and Lord Denman on condition of Ireland. Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., at Cork, on Irish Nationalist Convention.

February 18.—HOUSE OF LORDS—Debate on the Address. Speeches by Lord MacDonnell, Lord Donoughmore, and the Lord Chancellor, on the condition of Ireland.

February 19.—Sir E. Carson, M.P., at Maidstone, on Irish affairs.

February 20.—The Lord Lieutenant in Dublin.

February 23.—HOUSE OF COMMONS—Amendment to Address on condition of Ireland. Speeches by Earl Percy, Mr. Birrell, Mr. J. H. Campbell, Mr. Redmond Barry, Mr. John Redmond, and Mr. S. H. Butcher.

February 24.—HOUSE OF COMMONS—Irish debate continued. Speeches by Sir E. Carson, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Cherry, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Asquith.

February 27.—Mr. Birrell, M.P., at Cambridge. Mr. Dillon at Edinburgh.

IRISH FACTS.

APRIL, 1909.

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IRISH FACTS.

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[APRIL, 1909.]

CURRENT NOTES.

An Active League.

The Union Defence League is to-day more actively occupied than it has been since its foundation in supplying speakers and literature and advice to Unionist Associations throughout the country. It is obvious that, at last, the people of Great Britain are thoroughly aroused to the importance of the Irish Question, and to the necessity for maintaining law and order across St. George's Channel. The League had speakers assisting the Unionist candidates at each of the Scottish by-elections, and the most gratifying reports were received of the work which they did.

A Useful Illustration.

Unionists will find a useful illustration for their argument that an Irish Home Rule Parliament would be only a step towards Separation in the progress made by the Separatist movement in Iceland. The Althing, or subordinate Parliament, is dissatisfied with its powers, and there is now a general demand for independence. Whether Denmark will submit peacefully, as Sweden did when Norway acted similarly, or try to maintain her authority by force, remains to be seen; but the agitation is another warning against Home Rule for Ireland. There can be no finality about a subordinate Parliament, and an Irish Parliament would be insubordinate in the first year of its existence.

Irish Home Rulers and the Navy.

Unionists should not neglect to point the moral of Mr. Dillon's intervention in the naval debate on March 17. He made a determined attempt to stir up bad feeling between this country and the United States, saying:—

"If you provoke America into taking the field against you I warn you, and I know what I am talking about, that America has resources which would enable her to beat you alone and single-handed, and that in a very short time. . . Do not be boasting and bragging about the British flag sweeping the seas, or the day will come when it will not be the British, but the American flag that will sweep the seas."—*Debates*, Cols. 1112-3.

Mr. Dillon's warning was quite unnecessary, as nobody had been making untoward comparisons with the United States fleet, but Irish Nationalists must make some return for American subscriptions. Dollars have been few, and criticisms many in the immediate past, and Mr. Dillon's truculence may ease the situation, besides affording pabulum for the disloyal Home Rule papers published in the United States. We should

doubt, however, whether he has done the Home Rule cause much good in Great Britain.

Mr. Dillon is the last person whose advice should be taken on questions of national defence, having openly boasted of his disloyalty, saying in the House of Commons (April 17, 1902):—

“I take the opportunity of admitting in this House that **I am intensely disloyal**; and the Chief Secretary himself knows that in making that admission I am giving the best and most adequate expression I could give to the sentiments of more than three-fourths of the Irish nation.”—*Parliamentary Debates*, April 17, 1902.

He put his professions into practice in the division which followed the debate on March 17 by voting against the Naval Estimates and for a weaker Navy. He was supported by his Nationalist colleagues.

Mr. Dillon's speech and the division is a valuable argument against granting Home Rule and placing the Irish Nationalists in a position of greater freedom and responsibility at Dublin.

How Ireland is Governed.

Speaking in New York on September 22, 1908, Mr. Redmond said:—

“We maintain an office in Dublin, an office within whose walls, practically speaking, **the Government of Ireland is carried on.**”—*Irish World* (New York), October 3, 1908.

Home Rule an Issue.

Speaking at Sunderland on March 15, Mr. John Redmond said:—

“In the coming elections the mandate to whatever party is elected, especially if it is a Liberal party, must, so far as it rests with us, include a mandate on the question of Home Rule.”—*Freeman's Journal*, March 16.

Speaking at Dundee on February 21, Mr. Devlin, M.P., said:—

“Where stood the one great and vital question of Home Rule? It stood higher in the politics of the Empire than at any time since Gladstone introduced his Home Rule Bill. If they asked him what was his authority for that statement, he answered Dundee. There had been much vacillation, much hesitation, and a great deal of prevarication on this question. They had been told that Home Rule was an excellent academic idea, that it was vital, but not urgent; that it was urgent, but less urgent than other problems; there were the usual twistings and oratorical by-play and subtlety so common to British politicians. The issue was clearly knit in Manchester and Dundee. **By the declarations of Manchester and Dundee they would make the Liberal Party stand.**”—*Irish News*, February 24.

The Terms of the Alliance.

Speaking at Newcastle-on-Tyne on Sunday, March 14, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., detailed the terms of the Liberal-Nationalist understanding. He said that:—

“The Irish Parliamentary party expected the Liberal party to take up Home Rule at the first possible moment. **They would not permit any Liberal to be returned** by their votes who said at the

next election, as many Liberals said at the last election, that the next House of Commons could not deal with Home Rule. **They would insist** that Liberal Cabinets and Ministers should keep their hands free and untied. Members should be pledged to Home Rule, not merely in theory, but as **a policy**.”—*Times*, March 15.

The Home Rule Catechism.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., speaking at a St. Patrick's Eve dinner in Liverpool on March 16, said that :—

“As at Manchester and Dundee, two questions would be addressed to every candidate, whether Conservative, Liberal, or Labour, and in no case would the Irish people be advised to vote for one who did not satisfactorily answer both.

“The first was: ‘Are you in favour of Home Rule for Ireland, meaning thereby an Irish Parliament for the management of Irish affairs, with an Executive responsible thereto?’

“And the second question was: ‘Will you use your influence to make Home Rule a leading issue at the next election?’

“The first was a definition of Home Rule which anybody could understand. A satisfactory answer to the second question was equally important, because the Irishman would no longer tolerate being treated to a pious opinion.”—*Morning Post*, March 17.

Putting Back the Clock.

Speaking at Glasgow on March 14, Mr. Dillon said :—

“I have little faith in the restoration of Irish manufactures until first you restore Irish liberties.”—*Freeman's Journal*, March 15.

So Ireland's prosperity is delayed until the agitators are satisfied. Sir Horace Plunkett was getting dangerously successful in promoting Irish industrial development; therefore he was dismissed.

Mr. Dillon's utterance gives the reason for Mr. Redmond's statement at Sunderland on March 15 that “from the days of the Union to this moment there has been industrial decay and stagnation in Ireland” (*Freeman's Journal*, March 16).

There has been “industrial decay and stagnation” because the Home Rule agitators would not have it otherwise. Where, as in Belfast, for example, the agitators do not rule, there has been industrial and commercial progress.

To Heel.

The Executive Council of the United Irish League of Great Britain issued the following manifesto to the Irish Nationalists of the Central Division of Glasgow :—

“We addressed two questions to Mr. Gibson Bowles. The first asked if he were in favour of Home Rule, meaning thereby an Irish Parliament with an Irish Executive responsible thereto for the management of Irish affairs. To this question Mr. Bowles answered in the affirmative.

“The second question was, ‘Will you use your influence to make Home Rule a leading issue at the coming general election?’ To this Mr. Bowles has sent the following answer: ‘I am profoundly convinced of the urgency of this great matter of Home Rule, and

believe that it will, in fact, be and remain a leading issue until settled. I have voluntarily and spontaneously repeated this in public, and have, indeed, gone somewhat beyond it. I hold that unless some other great and unavoidable issue—a European war, for instance—intervenes, Home Rule must be one of the leading issues at the next general election.’

“The other candidate is an avowed opponent to Home Rule, a coercionist in full sympathy with and supported by the Ulster ascendancy party. Under these circumstances we call upon Irish Nationalists in the name of Ireland to vote solid for Bowles, to give him their strongest and heartiest support, and to strike thus an effective blow for Home Rule and against coercion.

“(Signed) T. P. O’CONNOR, President of the
United Irish League of Great
Britain.

“J. E. REDMOND, Chairman of the
Irish Parliamentary Party.”

Mr. Gibson Bowles explains.

The following letter appeared in the daily papers of March 5 :—

“SIR,—I find it has been stated in the London Press that at Glasgow I ‘capitulated to Irish pressure for the sake of the Irish vote’; that I made a ‘surrender absolute’; that I was ‘out-manœuvred by the Nationalists’; that, in plain terms, I was found ready to trade and traffic with my political convictions, and was coerced into bartering my political honour for votes.

“I should have hoped my character was well enough known to ensure me against such an imputation. But since I find it has been made, and is still repeated by those whose disagreement with me on Free Trade causes them to entertain the most malignant inventions, I ask you in justice to myself to publish their refutation. The facts shall answer for me.

“On Home Rule two questions were put to me by the Irish party: (1) Are you in favour of Home Rule for Ireland, meaning thereby an Irish Parliament, with an Executive responsible thereto, for the management of purely Irish affairs? And (2) Will you use your influence to make Home Rule one of the leading issues in the Liberal programme at the next General Election?

“At the outset of the election, being called upon to define my position as to these questions, I addressed the following letter to Mr. T. P. O’Connor:

““Central Hotel, Glasgow,

““19th February, 1909.

““DEAR O’CONNOR,—I am greatly obliged by your letter of yesterday informing me of the coming of the Irish deputation and of the questions they would put to me. They came as arranged this evening, and put the two questions.

““My sympathy with the Irish, my very sincere and anxious desire that this great question shall be so settled as to unite Ireland and England as England and Scotland are united, is not unknown to you. I expressed it to the deputation. I said, however, that in any scheme for Ireland I should wholly deprecate the exclusion from the British Parliament of the Irish members, who are some

of its ablest men, and with whom I have more than once found myself acting side by side in financial and constitutional questions; that I should equally deprecate any provision that would tend to divide rather than to unite the two countries, and most especially should I deprecate anything tending to divide them as against the outer world. For instance, I could not agree to any system that would render it possible for England to have one foreign policy and Ireland another, and possibly a different one; or that would leave a possibility of the action or the forces of the two countries being divided as against the foreigner.

“Subject to such considerations, my experience, I said, had made me grow more sympathetic with Irish desires, more convinced that this great matter must be finally settled; and I reminded the deputation that I had grown to this point even while yet in the Conservative party, and that I had in the House of Commons said that there were already twenty-seven Parliaments in the British Empire, and that I could not see ruin in a twenty-eighth. This pronouncement you will probably remember.

“As to Question 1, therefore, I had no difficulty in replying to it in the affirmative, provided it were distinctly understood that the grant to Ireland of an Irish Parliament, with an Executive responsible thereto, were made always subject to the supremacy of the British Parliament.

“As to Question 2, I said I feared I could not take that pledge, for these reasons: Leading issues at any election create themselves, and must be left to create themselves. I could not control them. An issue might be unexpected and most instant and pressing. It might be Peace or War. It might be Protection or Free Trade. It might be some other reference to the country which could not be put aside or postponed. In such a case, I could not undertake to set it aside. Nor could I pledge myself to urge such a course beforehand. Fate would play a part, the Government would play a part, circumstances a part; and I, as a candid man, could not pledge myself to making that a leading issue which, in fact, might not be leading.

“At the same time, and though I could not pledge myself in the absolute cast-iron way the question would suggest, I was profoundly convinced of the urgency of this great matter, and believed that it would, in fact, be and remain a leading issue till settled. But I must frankly confess that, as in this Glasgow election here at present I hold the leading issue not to be Home Rule but Tariff Reform, so I may conceivably hold it to be in the next General Election.

“In these circumstances I did not feel that I could honestly pledge myself by an affirmative reply to the second question.

“Sincerely yours,

“THOMAS GIBSON BOWLES.

“T. P. O'Connor, Esq., M.P., House of Commons.”

“At no subsequent period did I depart from the position taken up in my address, and more exactly defined in the foregoing letter. Whether in public or in private, from first to last, I maintained the same attitude. From first to last I refused to give the pledge required by the second question. Replying three days later in a

public meeting (on Monday, February 22) to the two questions I said:—

“The answer to the first question will be found in my election address. Subject to the unity of the Kingdom and the supremacy of the British Parliament, I certainly am in favour of Home Rule for Ireland, meaning thereby an Irish Parliament for the management of purely Irish affairs. As to the second question, I hold that it is beyond my power, or any man’s; that issues must make themselves. They may intrude themselves and have inevitably to be dealt with. Therefore I am unable to give a pledge that I will use my influence to make it a leading issue in the Liberal programme. I cannot pledge myself to make it a leading issue. I most respectfully say I cannot give that pledge. I consider that Home Rule must be a leading issue till settled, but I cannot pledge myself to make it a leading issue.”—(Reports in *Glasgow Evening Times*, *Glasgow Daily Record*, and *Glasgow Herald* of February 23.)

“I was informed that my answers to the deputation and afterwards were unsatisfactory; and that unless I went further the Irish vote would be lost to me. I refused to budge.

“The next day, Tuesday, February 23, I received from Mr. O’Connor this telegram:—

“‘I am instructed by my Committee to inform you that unless you can see your way to answer “Yes” to the two questions without qualification they will be compelled to ask our people to vote for the Tory candidate.’

“As I did not see my way to answer either question without the qualifications I had repeatedly attached to my answers, I made no reply to that telegram.

“Three days later, in reply to a telegram from the Master of Elibank, I authorised him to make to Mr. Redmond the following statement, which, as will be seen, went no further than what I had already said. It ran thus:—

“‘I am profoundly convinced of the urgency of this great matter of Home Rule, and believe that it will in fact be and remain a leading issue till settled. I have voluntarily and spontaneously repeated this in public, and have indeed gone somewhat beyond it. I hold that unless some other great and unavoidable issue—a European war, for instance—intervenes, Home Rule must be one of the leading issues at the next General Election.’

“The next day, as I understand, the Irish party issued the manifesto with which the public is familiar, and from which the qualifications of my reply to the first question were, no doubt inadvertently, omitted.

“What portion of the Irish vote I hence obtained I cannot say.

“That is the plain tale. It will be seen that throughout I stood fast to my original position; that I was neither out-manœuvred from it, nor capitulated out of it, nor surrendered it. I held it from first to last. In short, I have not been coerced by the Nationalists. I convinced them.

“Those who have imputed to me the barter of political principles for votes will see, I think, that they owe me some amends.

“Yours, &c.,

“THOMAS GIBSON BOWLES.

“25, Lowndes Square, March 4.”

To Free Trade Unionists.

From *The Times* (March 1):—

"Sir,—Mr. T. Gibson Bowles asks for the votes of the electors of Glasgow. He is a convert from Unionism. Such change of opinion may be perfectly blameless, but if it coincides with the dictates of political interest it fails to conciliate confidence and assuredly deserves no reward. In any case Mr. Gibson Bowles is now an avowed Home Ruler. He is supported and patronised by Irish Nationalists. Every vote for Mr. Gibson Bowles is of necessity a vote for the dissolution of the union between Great Britain and Ireland. Every vote for Mr. Gibson Bowles is the condonation of the refusal by the Government to maintain in Ireland the rule of law and of justice. If through a calamitous combination of factions Mr. Gibson Bowles should be returned to Parliament as one of the members for Glasgow, every Irish Nationalist will proclaim that the largest city in Scotland sanctions the toleration of lawlessness which has led to the Craughwell murder. These facts speak for themselves. No Unionist, be he free trader, protectionist, or Socialist, can either by his vote or by abstention from voting give either direct or indirect support to the candidature of Mr. Gibson Bowles. This at least is the conviction of a convinced free trader and old Unionist of 1886.

"I am, &c., A. V. DICEY.

"Oxford, Feb. 27."

Dissatisfied Allies.

From the *Irish News* (March 5):—

"Our Glasgow Correspondent writes:—

"Mr. F. L. Crilly, the General Secretary of the U.I.L.G.B., arrived in the city on Saturday, and was of considerable assistance in organising the Nationalist vote. Before he left Glasgow for home I questioned Mr. Crilly as to his impressions of the election in the Central Division of Glasgow, and, in reply, he said that, to his mind, the outstanding feature of the contest was the extraordinary enthusiasm of the Unionist and Tariff Reform workers, and the half-hearted manner in which the Liberals worked. Mr. Crilly was of opinion that although the Irish electors had only had a few hours in which to make any arrangements, they had acted in the most loyal manner in carrying out the advice of the Executive of the organisation, and he felt sure that fully ninety-five per cent. of the available votes had been polled for Mr. Bowles. If the Liberal workers had shown one quarter of the interest in the election that the Irishmen did, the result would have been far different."

We hope after Mr. Crilly's remarks to hear from Liberals no more excuses for their defeat based on the failure of Mr. Bowles to secure the Irish Home Rule vote.

"Not Fit for Home Rule."

Speaking at Claremorris on February 23 on the occasion of his visitation for the purpose of Confirmation, Dr. Healy, Archbishop of Tuam, said:—

"Irishmen claimed a right to Home Rule, and they had a right.

to it, and he hoped they would get it ; but not till they learned how to conduct themselves at their meetings. They should not get Home Rule until they were fit for it. At any deliberative assembly of their people half of the time was taken up in scolding, without any Christian feeling amongst them. . . . I say now that **the people are not fit for Home Rule**, and I have no hesitation in saying that I saw it in Dublin, and I saw it in Cork, and I am ashamed to say it, I saw it in the West of Ireland. That is spurious Christianity and spurious religion. When you know how to conduct yourselves and respect your neighbours, look for Home Rule. The man that does not know how to conduct himself and respect his neighbours is not fit for Home Rule.”
—*Irish Independent*, February 24.

Echoes of the Convention.

From the local Nationalist papers come further comments on the recent Nationalist Convention :—

Leinster Leader (February 13) :—

“ The Dublin and Belfast-made disorder once more carried the day. The Parliamentary Party may consider itself fortunate in pulling through the Convention with apparently undamaged plumage, but if we are not very much mistaken in the drift of feeling in the country, the Party only helped to drive a nail in its own coffin. The Home Rule cause has drifted, drifted so hopelessly that it is apparent to the meanest intelligence that almost irrecoverable ground has been lost. That is the growing feeling in the country. Some day the country will voice its feeling in the matter, and when it does there will be a stern reckoning. The Irish Party for the present has nominally saved itself by burying its head in provided sand at the Convention, but the attitude cannot hold.”

Limerick Leader (February 19) :—

“ The packing of the Convention with Northern Thugs and Dublin nobodies was done so well that Nationalists who travelled long distances on their country’s service heard nothing of the means employed until the whole Convention was over. It is now, however, quite clear that the men who had kept their branches of the political organisation alive through hard work and close application to the affairs of the movement, only made a proportion of the membership of the Convention, and were allowed very little voice in the affairs discussed. It is, perhaps, more correct to say that the southern Nationalists were summoned to Dublin to give an appearance of business to a meeting which had come to its own conclusions before they arrived. . . . The whole Convention was characterised by actions of this kind, and even more serious allegations, which we refrain from giving publicity to, are made against the Standing Committee for the manner in which Irish Nationalists were suppressed at the meeting. As for the methods employed and the preparations made which other organs of public opinion have commented upon, we refrain from reference to them. Suffice it to say that the Standing Committee are openly charged with having resorted to methods which are a disgrace to Ireland’s political movement.”

A Foretaste of Home Rule.

From the *Outlook*, March 20 :—

“ The proceedings in the Dublin Police Court in the action for assault, &c., brought by Mr. Crean, M.P., against Mr. Joseph Devlin and others, have resulted in an extraordinary exposure of the methods adopted by Mr. John Redmond's faction in Irish national political life to pack the late Convention and to ensure unanimity in support of their proposals. The admitted fact that a number of specially paid so-called ‘ stewards,’ armed with formidable truncheons, were introduced into a meeting, declared to be typical of what a Home Rule Parliament would represent, is in itself a startling illustration of the hopeless position in which any minority would be placed in such an assemblage. It is all very well to assert that these ‘ stewards,’ who were mainly recruited from the ranks of a Belfast Roman Catholic secret society, were there solely to maintain order and regularity in the proceedings. Everyone in Ireland is asking, for what purpose were the batons provided ? Obviously they were meant to be used on the opponents of Mr. John Redmond's resolutions. If the publication of the evidence produced at the hearing of the case has done nothing else it has conclusively proved that the endorsement of Mr. Birrell's new Land Bill by such a so-called ‘ National Convention ’ carries no weight whatever. On the contrary, a policy which needs to be supported by the methods adopted by Mr. Redmond's colleagues at this Convention stands condemned at the very outset.”

The Land of Leagues.

“ Of the making of Leagues there is no end ” in Ireland ; and most of them are Separatist Associations, either openly or in disguise. In the latter variety we must include the Imperial Home Rule Association (which has passed into oblivion) and the new Tillage Association, whose birth was noticed in these columns three weeks ago. Now we are enriched by another specimen of the unadulterated Separatist article, in the formation of an “ All for Ireland ” League, under the auspices of Mr. William O'Brien, M.P. We do not wish to do Mr. O'Brien any injustice when we say that we look upon this—his latest offspring—with the utmost misgiving. It comes of the same stock which bore the Land League, the National League, and the United Irish League—a group of conspiracies that have wrought havoc to the peace and prosperity of Ireland. As for its name, we had thought that “ Sinn Fein ” (ourselves alone) had patented the idea of national exclusiveness, and the same fear would seem to have occurred to Mr. O'Brien, who, in his interesting prospectus, assures the public that his new Association does not wish to interfere with any existing organisation. No doubt his assurance will be accepted ; but there are a number of Irish societies which will lose no time in scotching the “ All for Ireland ” League.

Trial by Jury.

From the following facts, readers will appreciate the difficulties which obstruct the course of justice in Ireland. Certain men were charged at the Sligo Spring Assizes on March 11 with riot and unlawful assembly at Geevagh in January, 1908, fifteen months ago.

They have been brought up on no less than four occasions :—

(1) At the Spring Assizes in 1908, when Counsel applied for an adjournment.

(2) At the Summer Assizes, when the jury disagreed.

(3) At the Winter Assizes at Limerick, when the jury again disagreed, and

(4) At the recent Spring Assizes.

On this last occasion, when the case came on for trial, Mr. Powell, K.C., made an application on behalf of the Attorney-General to have the trial again postponed to the next Assizes. He said that :—

“He moved on the affidavit of the Crown Solicitor for County Sligo, Mr. Williams, who stated that it had been brought to his notice as Crown Solicitor that several copies of the jury panel for the present Assizes had been privately printed and circulated amongst persons in the county for the purpose of informing such persons of the names and addresses of persons on the panel. Mr. Williams, in his affidavit, said that he believed that an active canvass had been made of the jurors on the panel on behalf of the traversers in this case, and he believed that a fair trial could not be had at the present Assizes. The matter which had come to the notice of the Crown Solicitor appeared to Counsel, and to his colleagues who represented the Crown, to disclose a very grave scandal, and a very gross attempt to interfere with the administration of justice.”—*Irish Times*, March 13.

His Lordship granted the application, and referred to the facts alleged as having produced “a partial paralysis of justice.”

Jurors and Their Duty.

Addressing the Jury at the Co. Limerick Assizes on March 8, in the trial of certain men concerned in the Kilfinane riots, Mr. Justice Dodd said :—

“Most people appeared to think that the present Irish jury system was an institution of great antiquity, but that was not so. It was only so recently as 1871 that the Lord O’Hagan introduced the present system of selecting jurors, and he (Mr. Justice Dodd) was one of the agitators who helped to have Lord O’Hagan’s measure passed into law. Previous to that the jurors were selected by the Sheriff, and not, as now, from the county panel, and the present system was put on its trial, and was at present on its trial. **It would be fraught with peril to the peace of the country for the future, and it would be fraught with peril to the present Irish jury system itself, if jurors did not do their duty and find their verdicts on the evidence.** Having defined what constituted a riot to the gentlemen, they would if they brought in a verdict of not guilty **be finding against the facts in this case.**”

“The jury retired, and after a quarter of an hour’s absence they acquitted the prisoners.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 9.

The Riverstown Case.

In moving a notice of motion for the adjournment of the trial of the Riverstown Conspiracy Case at the Co. Sligo Assizes on March 10, Mr. Kelly, the Crown Prosecutor, said :—

"The accused were in due course summoned at Riverstown Petty Sessions, and informations were refused by a majority of six to three magistrates. Mr. John O'Dowd, M.P., who was Chairman of the South Sligo Executive of the League, was one of the magistrates. Another magistrate who was among the majority was Mr. James Hannan, who presided at a meeting of the League in Ballymote, on February 14, 1909. Another magistrate who voted for the refusal of informations was Mr. John M. Cryan, who was, according to the Inspector's information, treasurer of the Culfodda Branch of the League. Mr. Antony O'D. Cogan, another magistrate, whose son, Mr. C. W. P. Cogan, was a well-known organiser of the United Irish League, which was a large and powerful organisation in the County of Sligo."—*Irish Times*, March 11.

Shooting Outrages.

In reply to a question by Mr. C. Craig (March 10), Mr. Birrell has furnished the following return classifying under their proper designation the indictable crimes in which firearms were used in 1906, 1907, and 1908, distinguishing between agrarian and non-agrarian crimes:—

Return of Offences in which Firearms were used in 1906, 1907, and 1908 respectively.

Offences.	1906.		1907.		1908.	
	Agrarian.	Not agrarian.	Agrarian.	Not agrarian.	Agrarian.	Not agrarian.
Murder ..	—	2	—	3	1	3
Manslaughter ..	—	—	—	3	—	3
Attempts to murder ..	—	1	—	—	—	2
Firing at the person ..	3	16	9	18	15	28
Killing cattle ..	—	—	1	—	—	—
Demand or robbery of arms ..	—	1	—	3	—	3
Riot, &c. ..	—	1	—	—	2	—
Intimidation ..	10	5	11	8	48	13
House attack ..	—	—	—	1	—	—
Firing into dwelling ..	9	11	40	20	66	23
Injury to property ..	1	—	—	—	—	—
Total ..	23	37	61	56	132	75
	60		117		207	

An Armed People.

The Liberal Government allowed free trade in firearms to be established in Ireland. From cases heard at Ennis Petty Sessions on

February 20 one can gather the condition of affairs in Ireland to-day, when it would seem that the carrying of firearms has become universal.

"Michael Lyons was found lying drunk in a lane off one of the principal streets. In his pocket was found a **seven-chambered revolver**, loaded in six chambers, with one empty cartridge.

"Defendant said he got the revolver for his own protection.

"The Chairman said the Bench would put down this conduct. **Every second man living in Ennis had a revolver in his pocket.** It was simply intolerable, and should not exist in any civilised country where the law was enforced.

"Defendant was find £2 10s., with a recommendation for a reduction to 10s.

"Charles Mulvihill, Killera, was fined £2 10s., with a recommendation to a reduction to 5s., for having a gun without a licence.

"Pat Molony, Clare Castle, was fined in a similar amount on the same charge, and in Pat Cullinan's case a similar penalty was ruled on the same charge.

"John Donohue was charged with having a revolver without a licence.

"Constable Crowley deposed that he arrested the defendant for drunkenness. He had on him a **five-chambered revolver and 55 rounds of ammunition.**

"Mr. Linane, J.P., said in his opinion the Government had acted in a very fair manner in giving so much liberty to the people. They were practically in a free country now, for every man was allowed to carry his firearms. But there was no necessity for people to have loaded revolvers in their pockets coming into town. It was a scandal and a shame the way people endangered themselves and their neighbours in such a way. A good many did not know they were committing an offence, but it would be brought home now to them that they were.

"A fine of £2 10s., with a recommendation to have it reduced to 10s., was imposed."—*Dublin Daily Express*, Feb. 22.

N.B.—"The law is the friend of the poor man—not his enemy."—(Mr. Birrell at Cambridge, Feb. 28.)

The Use of Firearms.

Evidence comes from the proceedings at the Spring Assizes of the widespread use of firearms in Ireland since the Government allowed the Arms Act to drop.

Addressing the Grand Jury at the Spring Assizes at Ennis, Mr. Justice Wright said:—

"Persons in this county and other counties of which he had experience appeared to have no difficulty, whatever their object might be or whatever lawful purpose they might have, in getting these revolvers. In all these cases the persons against whom bills were sent up were charged with having used revolvers either to terrorise individuals or fire at them, or by firing at or into houses in which persons were living, perhaps not firing at the persons, and probably in a careless way—careless whether the shots took effect on any person or not."—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 3.

The Grand Jury subsequently adopted the following resolution:—

“That we, the Grand Jury of the County Clare, assembled at Spring Assizes, 1909, view with the greatest alarm the number of guns, rifles, and revolvers that are scattered through the country, and which weapons are in many instances in the hands of young, irresponsible, and reckless persons. We are of opinion that the Executive Government should, for the general safety of the public, take immediate steps to check the unlicensed and unregistered sale of firearms.”

Summing up in one shooting case, Mr. Justice Wright said that:—

“He had been informed that a revolver could be had for a few shillings, and a rifle that would carry 2,000 yards for 18s. 6d. The habit of carrying these firearms was a dangerous one, and ought not to be tolerated.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 4.

Giving evidence in another shooting case, the Head Constable deposed that Broadford was “full” of revolvers. He continued: “Coming home from market he had come on people firing them along the road, and even in the village he had bound parties to the peace for firing shots about public-houses after ten o’clock.”

In Broadford he gave evidence that on one occasion there was a pitched battle, at which a constable was shot. He said: “About 15 or 16 shots were fired by opposing parties at each end of the village at each other, and the constable came into the line of fire and was shot.”

Referring to this skirmish in his summing up, Mr. Justice Wright said that—

“It was a deplorable state of things to think of, that almost every person in or about Broadford went about carrying a revolver, and the only conclusion to his mind was that Broadford was a very good place to live out of.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 4.

Summing up at the Longford Assizes in a shooting case, Mr. Justice Kenny said that it “showed the reckless way in which firearms were used in this county. At an Assizes in Connaught the depositions in every criminal case contained the sentence, ‘**He pulled out a revolver.**’ People were indiscriminately using firearms which could so easily be obtained now.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 3.

Especially appropriate was a brief discussion in the House of Lords, on March 3, initiated by Lord Camperdown on the subject. He succeeded in eliciting from Lord Denman the information that—

“The Government were considering whether it might not be possible to impose further restrictions than those which already existed on the carrying and use of firearms, particularly pistols and revolvers, **in all parts of the United Kingdom.**”—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 4.

Attention is particularly directed to the words in black type. The proposed legislation is to apply to all parts of the United Kingdom. The Government vigorously denied that there was any special case in respect of Ireland, although Lord Denman admitted that in England and Wales “firearms were not used as they had been used in Ireland for firing into dwellings and intimidation.” Notwithstanding, Ireland is to have no special legislation; and the most law-abiding parts of Great Britain are to be treated as if they were situated in the most disturbed districts of Ireland!

The Lord Lieutenant's Views.

After the facts and figures recently put forward by the Opposition in the House of Commons, and which remain uncontroverted by the Government, it is unnecessary to comment upon the Lord Lieutenant's references to the state of Ireland in his speech on February 24 at the annual dinner of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland. He said :—

“ It must be admitted that, unfortunately, especially at the present time in Ireland, reference to prosperity or the reverse prevailing in the country must be made with some caution, and, as you will perhaps guess, I have in view especially the discussion which has been going on, particularly on the other side of the Channel, in regard to certain manifestations which we all deplore, and I also think that it is a matter for regret and complaint that far too little discrimination has been used by some speakers with reference to this subject. I mean, for instance, that the impression has been given that the whole country is in a state of dangerous disorder. Now, I wish clearly to guard myself from the imputation of entrenching upon political ground, from which it is my duty and practice to abstain, not only on such an occasion as this, but on every public occasion, while in Ireland, occupying the position I have the honour to fill. I am not saying anything in defence of a Government, but I would like to say something in defence of a people, and that is what anyone, no matter what may be his political opinions or party, would be justified in saying—namely, by way of helping to protect the people of Ireland as a whole from the imputation of being concerned in, or consenting to disorder and riot throughout the land. Of course, we who live in Ireland know better how the matter stands, and especially those who have access to the official statistics and returns of what is going on in every corner of the country ; but in England people are getting quite confused, and are forming a wrong impression. Surely, no patriotic Irishman would wish his countrymen to be depicted in a worse light than they deserve. By all means let an administration be criticised as strenuously as may be desired, but let not the zeal of criticism obscure the claims of fairness and truth.”—*Irish Times*, February 22.

“A Reprehensible Condition of Things.”

Speaking at Cambridge on February 27, Mr. Birrell said :—

“ He did not for a moment dispute that in certain parts of Ireland many things went on which could not be regarded otherwise than with **extreme reprehension**. There was much boycotting, and a great deal of intimidation. There was ruthless disregard in many places of the rights of individuals, of the rights of people to lead their own lives in the way that they thought best. He was not there to deny for a moment that there were many things full of gravity in the situation in Ireland. He admitted that there was a great deal going on in Ireland that was reprehensible, and one asked himself why it should be so. Ireland was admittedly a comparatively crimeless country, and the criminal classes, which were the despair of our own police, practically did not exist in Ireland. He did not use that argument except to say that when people were disposed, in their political heat,

to describe Irishmen as savages, they should bear in mind that, as compared with other parts of the United Kingdom, there was less ordinary crime in Ireland. What crime there was was in connection with the land. They had not got the land that they wanted, and in order to get it they had not hesitated, to some alarming and improper extent, to join illegal combinations. They were told that the duty of the Liberal Government was in the first instance to crush out this by the suspension of the ordinary law, and that when they had reduced the whole population in the west to a state of terrorism, they should come forward with proposals to divide the land, so far as it would go, amongst the people. That was the problem, and his firm persuasion was that his administration of the law, defective as it might be, unfortunate in certain respects as it might be, had done far more towards producing the results they had at heart than if they had suspended the Constitution and adopted Government by coercion.

"He was not there to say that his administration had been crowned with complete success. It had failed in many places, failed, sometimes, to his great disappointment and to his great regret. Sometimes he had felt that he had not the full measure of support to which he was entitled, but if he turned to the other side of the shield and asked what would have been the position of Ireland if he had adopted the course so hastily and angrily thrust upon him by many persons, some in the House of Commons and some out of it, he said unhesitatingly that the state of Ireland would have been far worse than it was at the present time. **For the present moment it was a state of hope.** The obedience to and regard for the law had not been weakened. It had been strengthened, and there were indications that they were at last, very slowly, very uncertainly, lifting up that cloud of suspicion to which he had referred, and they were showing that they did mean resolutely to administer the ordinary law patiently, courageously, and firmly, and to administer no other, and by that means to induce the Irish party to see that the law was what they had often been ridiculed for saying it was—the friend of the poor man and not his enemy."—*Times*, March 1.

The Bane of Justice.

Mr. Birrell's speeches in England are constantly being used in Irish Courts of Justice to extenuate outrage and to defend crime. On Monday, March 1, at Athenry, nine young farmers were charged before the Resident Magistrate with intimidating a little boy, the son of Mrs. Ryan, who is boycotted by her neighbours for holding the evicted farm upon which Constable Goldrick was murdered and two labourers were wounded last month. The evidence given was not challenged or denied; but the solicitor for the defence attacked the police for making use of the Act of Edward III. in this instance, and quoted at length from Mr. Birrell's speech at Cambridge, including the famous sentence, "We do mean resolutely to administer the ordinary law and to administer no other; and by that means to induce the Irish people to see that the law is—what we have often been ridiculed for saying it is—the friend of the poor man and not his enemy."

The prisoners, having found bail, were released; yet we cannot help reflecting on the difference between the "penalty" inflicted on

nine bullies who were caught in the act of terrifying a small boy, and the imprisonment of the man who recently stole the watch belonging to Mr. Reddy, a Nationalist Member of Parliament.

The Cost of Extra Police.

Replying to a question by Mr. Lonsdale (February 23), Mr. Birrell has furnished the following statement showing the sums levied or to be levied off the counties declared by proclamation issued in August, 1907, and June, 1908, to be in a state of disturbance, in respect of the cost of additional police employed therein in the financial years 1905-6, 1906-7, and 1907-8, and the half-year ended September 30, 1908, respectively :—

Counties.	1905-6.	1906-7.	1907-8.	Half-year to September 30, 1908.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Clare	—	39 13 2	1,888 5 1	1,066 7 4
Galway	749 15 1	659 11 7	4,179 14 1	5,050 13 2
King's	—	—	645 0 3	393 9 0
Leitrim	—	339 18 0	636 14 8	327 7 11
Longford	—	—	448 6 0	349 18 1
Roscommon ..	—	9 19 11	3,347 8 4	1,808 7 3
Sligo	—	—	—	269 19 2
Westmeath ..	—	—	444 19 3	767 18 10

Condition of County Galway.

At the Galway Spring Assizes the list of trials to be heard is the largest for a quarter of a century.

By No Means Satisfactory.

Addressing the Grand Jury at the Co. Sligo Assizes on March 9, Mr. Justice Andrews said :—

“With regard to the usual Constabulary reports he found between the last Summer and Winter Assizes 42 specially reported cases, cases of indictable offences. For the corresponding period of previous year there were 13, showing an increase of 29. With regard to the period between the Winter Assizes and the present Assizes, there were 20 specially reported cases. For the corresponding period of last year there were 15, showing an increase of five. He found from the County Inspector's report that there were 18 evicted farms in the county. There were 16 persons partially boycotted, and one completely boycotted; seven persons were under police protection; there were seven cattle-drives—five in December and two in February. They were infinitely better acquainted than himself with the state of the county, and from the investigations he had been able to make, ‘I am sorry,’ concluded his lordship, ‘that I cannot regard the condition of your county as by any means satisfactory.’”—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 10.

A Boycotting Case.

What boycotting means may be very well gained from the following answer by Mr. Birrell (February 22) in reply to a question by Mr. Lonsdale respecting the police protection afforded to Mr. Clarke of Holycross. Mr. Birrell replied :—

“ One head constable and 19 men of the reserve are specially stationed at Holycross for the purpose of affording protection to Mr. Clarke, his family, employees, and servants. Five of the police live at Mr. Clarke's house and the remainder are quartered in two special stations at a distance of half a mile from the house. The five men of the ordinary force at Holycross station also assist in affording this protection. Mr. Clarke and his servants and workmen are wholly boycotted. The family number 5, the servants in the house and yard 12, the outdoor servants and workmen 21, and their families 89, making a total of 127 persons affected.”

A Process Server's Experience.

The following is the evidence given by a process server at Croghan Petty Sessions on February 15, in a case where four men were charged with intimidation :—

“ I am a process server in Boyle. I proceeded to the townland of Granny on January 27 last to serve a notice to quit on Andrew Blair. I arrived at Blair's house at 9 a.m. The house is about a quarter of a mile from the public road. When I got to the avenue gate, I met Sergeant King and a couple of police, who accompanied me up the avenue. I heard drums beating as I went up, and I saw a crowd of people, young and old, gathered on the lawn in front of Blair's house. There was a chain and a padlock on the gate. The gate is about twenty or twenty-five yards from Blair's house. The crowd were inside that gate. They were hooting, shouting, and beating a drum. The four defendants were in the crowd. Blair was shouting and hooting, and would not let me in. He had a hay fork in his hand. I said the business I was on was of no great importance, and that it was not worth their while to obstruct me. Ambrose Blair said he had but one life to lose, and he would lose it on me if I went in. Blair struck the fork against the wall as we were leaving, and smashed the handle of it. The crowd started to peg mud at me, and I told the sergeant there was no use in persisting. There were eight or nine police with me. As I went down the avenue the crowd pegged me with clay and cow dung, and everything they could get. The four defendants were prominent in the crowd, especially Michael Beirne and Ambrose Blair. Blair tried to hit me in the face, and one of the policemen prevented him. Michael Beirne came after me with a stick, and a policeman shouted to me to avoid him, and I stooped my head, and the policeman shoved him over against the wall. The man who drove me there went away without me, and I had to walk to Ballinameen. Owing to the conduct of the four defendants, I was prevented from carrying out my duty.”—*Roscommon Herald*, February 20.

Strained Relations.

The generous support which the Government gave to the Irish Nationalists on Lord Percy's amendment to the Address on the condition of Ireland has not prevented the relations between them becoming somewhat strained.

On Tuesday, March 2, a motion was moved from the Nationalist benches condemning the use the Irish Executive makes of the Statute of Edward III.

In the debate Mr. John Redmond said that Mr. Birrell was "pursuing a stupid and disastrous course." He continued:—

"In my opinion the exercise of those powers is a piece of coercion; and not nearly so courageous a piece of coercion as was the kind of coercion that was used by the hon. gentleman now on the Opposition side of the House."—*Freeman's Journal*, March 3.

Commenting upon Mr. Redmond's speech, the *Freeman's Journal* (March 3) says:—

"If it should go unheeded, Irish Nationalists may be treated to a spectacle of a Liberal Government executing a policy of coercion fully as tyrannous and despicable as the coercion that Liberals despise and condemn."

The Government were not yet free from their friends. At 6 a.m. on the following morning (March 4) Mr. Murphy, manager of the "Nationalist" newspaper of Clonmel, was arrested, taken from his bed, and conveyed 30 miles to Thurles, to be committed for trial at the North Tipperary Assizes on a charge of criminal conspiracy arising out of the boycotting of Mr. Clarke. Questions to Ministers in the House of Commons proving unsatisfactory, the Irish Nationalists moved the adjournment to call attention to the "harsh" and "unwarrantable" circumstances of Mr. Murphy's arrest.

Mr. Redmond again "blamed" the Chief Secretary. He said:

"When the Government find it necessary to enter into a prosecution, let them do it in the least irritating way, and not in a way to inflame public opinion, as was done in this case. Surely it is the utmost folly to drag a man out of bed in this manner and inflame public excitement."—*Official Debates*, Col. 1508.

The *Freeman's Journal* (March 4), referring to the case, said:—

"The Government are likely to give proof of the soundness of Mr. Kettle's criticism last night that 'the Liberal Government seemed bent on showing that they could be more Tory than the Tories.'"

It is a new experience for Mr. Birrell to hear himself denounced from Nationalist benches as a Coercionist; and during the debates how bitterly he must have reflected on the ingratitude of his Irish Home Rule colleagues!

This is the policy of showing the people that "the law is the friend of the poor man—not his enemy"! It is clear that the "poor men" do not appreciate these signs of friendship.

"No Englishman need apply."

The County of Wexford has, until the past year or two, been among the most peaceful districts of Ireland. But the general demoralisation,

of which many Bishops complain, seems at last to have reached it, and mob-law—which has proved so successful elsewhere—is now on its trial at Gorey. An eye-witness of the scene described below writes to us as follows:—

“It is just an instance of the lawlessness which is spreading even over the quietest part of the South of Ireland.”

There seems, however, to be a new feature in this particular situation, for, surely, these unseemly demonstrations have not hitherto been utilised in antagonism to the rule of the Roman Catholic Church.

“An extraordinary scene was witnessed at the Gorey Railway Station on Wednesday evening on the arrival of the 5.20 p.m. train from Dublin. By this train travelled the Lord Abbot of the Order of St. Benedict. To meet him had congregated some hundreds of people from the Holyfort, Monaseed, and Craanford districts.

To understand the reason of this demonstration it is only necessary to explain that the Rev. Father Sweetman, the present Superior of the St. Benedict Order at Mount St. Benedict, is about to be removed to another house, and in his place is coming Father Cunliffe, from one of the London houses. Father Cunliffe is an Englishman.

So serious is the situation that the Lord Abbot of the Order travelled specially to Gorey on Wednesday. All the employees at Mount St. Benedict were at the railway station. There were also hundreds of residents of the surrounding country. A mass meeting had been held in Holyfort on Tuesday night, where a resolution was passed condemning the proposed change of Father Sweetman. The Rev. Father Cullen, C.C., was also at the station, and Mr. Michael Lyons, D.C., was a member of the delegation.

The Lord Abbot arrived by the 5.20 train, and scarcely had it drawn up when the assembly gathered round and presented him with the following memorial drawn up by the employees:—

“We, the working men of this country, have always been ready to suffer death itself for our priests and country. We also welcomed the Benedict Fathers here with ‘Cead Mile Failte,’ and are ready to stand by them so long as they are headed by a good and holy priest like Father Sweetman, but if he is replaced by an Englishman we will not be accountable for our deeds. We strongly protest against Englishmen in this model County Wexford, whose sons feared nothing when Faith and Fatherland was in danger.”

With the Rev. S. Cullen, C.C., was Father Chatterton of the Order. The crowd pressed in on the Lord Abbot, who appeared much surprised at the demeanour of the people.

“We won’t have an Englishman,” was the cry on all sides. “Leave Father Sweetman with us or there will be trouble.”

The Rev. Sylvester Cullen asked the people to control themselves. The Lord Abbot, he said, would consider their memorial, but do not insist on any demonstration here.

Across the bridge the crowd followed, and on the far side were augmented by many others. They again pressed around the Lord Abbot, and earnestly demanded the retention of Father Sweetman.

“If you send us an Englishman there will be trouble,” said a member of the crowd. “They mean to turn the land into grass,” said another.

The Lord Abbot, who appeared much affected, said: “It does not follow that if Father Sweetman goes, that employment will be cut off.”

"We won't have an Englishman here," came in chorus.

Outside, when seated in the vehicle which was to convey him to Mount St. Benedict, the Lord Abbot said he would carefully consider the appeal made to him. At this there arose a deafening cheer, which the visitor acknowledged by raising his hat."—*The Echo*, February 27.

The Government Refuse Information.

In the House of Lords on March 18 Lord Donoughmore moved for a return of the number and localities of the cattle-drives in Ireland which had been reported by the police during the years 1906, 1907, and 1908, showing the residence and occupation of the persons who have been convicted or bound over to keep the peace, and the quantity and poor-law valuation of the land held by any such persons. Lord Donoughmore pointed out that on this matter there was considerable discrepancy as to the real facts between the Government and the Unionists. In the course of the recent debate on the Address the Government pressed the view that the Act of 1903 was largely responsible for the agitation in Ireland, and Lord Denman categorically stated that the people mostly responsible for cattle-driving were of a poorer class, who were disappointed at not getting any benefit from the Act, and which some of their richer neighbours had succeeded in obtaining. Unionists, on the contrary, had reason to think that the persons mainly responsible for these cattle-drives were rich men with a grievance.

The possession of this information would be of considerable value in the discussions on the Land Bill, especially when debating the proposals for the compulsory acquisition of the grazing lands.

Lord Beauchamp said that the Government were not prepared to grant the return asked for, although, as Lord Lansdowne pointed out, there must be information of the kind at the Irish Office to have entitled the Government to form the decided opinion they have always expressed on the matter.

When Cattle-Driving Began.

Speaking in the House of Lords on March 18, on behalf of the Government, Lord Beauchamp said:—

"There were no cattle-drives in 1906. They did not begin until April 25, 1907."—*Northern Whig*, March 19.

Another Chance for Mr. Birrell?

From the *Outlook* (March 20):—

"There are evidences in the disturbed areas in Ireland that the agitators have consented to give Mr. Birrell one more chance to carry his legislation to gratify the greed of the landless at the expense of the landowners. Cattle-driving and the use of firearms have ceased to be as common as they were lately. This does not mean any return to honest dealing, any real cessation of intimidation, or any increase of respect for the majesty of the law. It is merely a lull, engineered by the wirepullers of the United Irish League, to afford one more argument in the House of Commons in appealing to the timidity of Mr. Birrell's supporters. The assertion will be

made that the mere reintroduction of the Land Bill has brought about this partial improvement, and the old threat will be pressed home that if the Land Bill, with all the amendments of the Irish party, is not rapidly passed, Ireland will once more relapse into crime and disorder. This may be true enough to some extent, but it is certain that the passing of the Bill would entail a condition of chaos and disorder all over Ireland to which the worst that could happen after its rejection would be mere child's play."

Injury to Cattle.

Replying to Mr. Lonsdale (March 15), Mr. Birrell states that the cases of killing, cutting, or maiming cattle in 1907 and 1908 were as follows :—

					1907.		1908.
Agrarian	..	..	..	..	16	..	22
Non-agrarian	..	..	..	..	41	..	58
					<hr/>		<hr/>
Total	..	..	..	..	57	..	80

In the four cases connected with cattle-driving the names of the owners of the cattle, the dates of the offences, and the counties in which they occurred were as follows: P. Lyons and P. Kennedy, May 1, 1908, Clare; Michael Power, May 23, 1908, Kerry; G. W. Alley, July 4, 1908, Westmeath; J. Connor, November 29, 1908, Roscommon. In 1907, compensation was granted in 10 cases, and in 1908 in 77 cases in which cattle were driven. The 10 cases in 1907 are all included in the statistics under the heading of injury to property. In 12 of the 1908 cases the awards did not amount to £5 each, and the cases were therefore treated as petty and not recorded in the statistics, injuries to property of this nature not being indictable. The cattle in these cases were not maimed or cut in any way. The four cases already enumerated are recorded under the head of killing, cutting, or maiming cattle, and not under that of injury to property.

A District Councillor Ready.

From the *Dublin Daily Express* (February 20) :—

"At a meeting of the Claremorris Branch of the United Irish League, amongst local matters under discussion was the holding of the Crantagher Farm by Mr. Holmes, Miltown, Co. Galway.

"Mr. James Tucker, D.C., said it was a shame to have this grazing farm in their midst. He was quite prepared to head his constituents in the Caraua Division and drive the cattle, as they were doing in Craughwell. Nothing, he said, could be more effective than the use of the hazel stick."

The King of Cattle-Drivers.

At a meeting at Horseleap, Co. Westmeath, on February 21, Mr. P. McKenna, a representative of the National Directory, said :—

"If Mr. Birrell succeeded in placing his Land Bill on the Statute Book he would be the King of Cattle-Drivers, and they would make him a presentation of all the hazels in the country, with which to attack the House of Lords."—*Irish Independent*, February 22.

THE HAPPY LAND BILL.

A. . . B. . . sings :—

“ I’ve a very shrewd idea
Where the difficulties lurk,
And at last I am quite clear
Why Land Purchase doesn’t work :
It’s because my predecessor
Made the landlords’ bonus *high*,
And imagined *low* annuities
Would tempt the ‘ bhoys ’ to buy.

“ Was ever heard such nonsense,
Was Wyndham mad, or worse ?
Of course the proper system is
Precisely the reverse.
The man who really wants a farm
To prices high will go ;
And vendors are most willing
When bonuses are low.

“ Was ever such inducement
To buy, or eke to sell ?
Walk up and make your purchase
(And make my name as well).
Here’s acres broad for tenants ;
For landlords—*entre nous*—
There’s little cash, but plenty of
‘ Bog-Stock ’ at ninety-two.

“ O ! thankless generation
That cannot recognise
The wisdom of the ancient saw
‘ ’Tis folly to be wise
Where ignorance is bliss.’ The best
Chief Secretary’s he
Who shrouds in empty badinage
His imbecility.”

—QUIS.

Against the Land Bill.

In a letter to the *Morning Post* (March 16) on the Irish Land Bill, Lord Dunraven sums up the arguments against the measure. He writes :—

“ The principal objections to the Government’s Bill are these :

“ (1) It substitutes payment in stock for payment in cash.

“ (2) It increases the annuity rate payable by tenants from $3\frac{1}{4}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the purchase money.

“ (3) It alters the method of distribution of a bonus which has been reduced since November 24 last from 12 to 3 per cent.

“ The individual effect of these proposals may be thus summarised :

“ (1) By substituting an unstable for a stable medium, and consequently of unstable for stable terms of purchase, constant quarrelling about price will be caused.

"(2) The proposal to increase the annuity rate will cause discontent by placing one-half of the purchasing occupiers at a disadvantage compared with the other half.

"(3) The great reduction of the bonus will completely destroy, with disastrous consequences, the range of prices under which £77,000,000 worth of property has been purchased by the occupying tenants; and will put an end to land purchase, as is evidenced by the fact that since November 24 only 39 originating notices have been lodged.

"The combined effect of these propositions must be to throw land purchase into the melting pot, to make inevitable a long and disastrous struggle between classes, and to destroy the Treaty of Peace entered into in 1902-3 and the whole policy of conciliation, which is, of course, exactly what the political supporters of disorder desire to see."

He continues :—

"If land purchase is to go on the essentials are :

"(1) The bonus must be kept up to 12 per cent. This will put a charge upon the Votes of about £200,000 a year for 68½ years.

"(2) Payment should be made in cash. To obtain cash a 3 per cent. interest-bearing stock should be issued instead of a 2½ per cent. stock, the half per cent. for sinking fund remaining the same.

"(3) Proving title to receive purchase money should be simplified and vendors relieved from the great expense and delay incidental to it, a small fee being charged to create an insurance fund.

"(4) The charge for interest and sinking fund should remain as it is secured upon the Irish rates, but they should not be liable to any other charge.

"(5) Loans for Irish land purchase being directly guaranteed by the Consolidated Fund should be considered part of the National Debt. If this is objected to the charge for gratifying a mere fad should be borne by the Treasury; it is not fair to put it upon Ireland. The stock should not in any case be designated Irish Land Stock. It might be issued under some modification of the Local Loans Act. Losses or gains on flotation should be debited or credited to the Treasury; taken over a lengthy period it is most improbable that the Treasury would make a loss.

"(6) The buying occupiers' annuity rate must not be changed. An additional ¼ per cent. for interest must be therefore provided by (A) the selling owner, (B) the buying occupier, or (C) shared by both. The latter is the fairest course to adopt."

A Rope for the Grazier.

Mr. Dermot O'Brien, an organiser of the United Irish League, was sent to prison on March 6, in default of giving bail, for inciting to boycott and injure Messrs. Hughes, of Ballyphilip.

Police evidence was given that Mr. O'Brien said in the course of his speech :—

"Hughes have been grabbing the land, and if you don't mind they will soon come in and grab your breakfast. If I lived on the land I would make it hot for them."

Producing a piece of cord, Mr. O'Brien continued :—

"That is a rope I bought to hang the Hughes with. Go for the Hughes and drive the whole ging bang of them out of the country."

Before leaving for prison, Mr. O'Brien despatched the following telegram :—

"Cherry, Attorney-General, House of Commons, London—
Don't prostitute justice any further by bogus trials. Let your instruments give conviction without perjury."

The Army and "Sinn Fein."

The Wexford Corporation having passed with one dissentient a resolution requesting the War Office to re-open the military barracks in the town, the County Committee of "Sinn Fein," after denouncing the action of the Corporation, unanimously adopted the following :—

"That we view with indignation and disgust the action of the Wexford Corporation in soliciting the English War Office to establish a garrison of England's trained hirelings in the town, and we call upon every Wexford man worthy of the name of Irishman to dissociate himself from this infamous action, and also call upon the G.A.A. and other bodies, as well as on the farmers of the country, to rigidly boycott the town until such time as this baneful resolution of the Corporation has been expunged from the books."—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 6.

At a meeting of the County Committee of the Gaelic Athletic Association, in Navan, on March 7, the following resolution was carried unanimously :—

"That, as a protest against the authorities of the Young Men's Society giving the hall for a military ball, we will hold no further meetings here unless the Council of the Young Men's Society rescind the resolution in question."

The two resolutions afford ample evidence of the disloyal character of the "Sinn Fein" movement and the Gaelic Athletic Association.

A Muzzle for the Press.

Mr. Birrell's attempt to muzzle the editor of the *Kilkenny People* ended in an ignominious failure. The case was heard at the Kilkenny Petty Sessions on February 23. In the first place Mr. Keane, the editor, objected to the presence on the bench of the Resident Magistrate for the Counties of Kilkenny and Waterford, and succeeded in getting him removed.

Considerable interest was aroused by Mr. Keane's cross-examination, from which we take the following extract :—

"And," queried Mr. Keane, 'did you ever read any of the speeches of Mr. Dudley White (the Crown Prosecutor in the case) when he was addressing the Hibernians in Tyrone?' 'I don't think so.'

"Did you ever read the following extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Redmond Barry, the present Solicitor-General?"

"Counsel here objected to Mr. Keane making reference to speeches delivered by the Solicitor-General. Such was not evidence.

"Mr. Keane submitted that as the prosecution had been instituted

by the Liberal Government, whose official Mr. Redmond Barry was, it was all important that the Court should know the views of Mr. Barry.

"The magistrate decided in favour of Mr. Keane, and the latter then read the following extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Barry some time ago:—

"The time has come to put an end to the infamous system of grazing in Ireland, and to plant the people in the land now occupied by the bullocks."

"Do you know, continued Mr. Keane, that when Mr. Cherry was a candidate in Liverpool he said that when the Liberals got into power they would banish the bullocks and put the people in their places?

"The witness replied that he had no recollection of having heard of or read any of these speeches."—*Irish Independent*, February 24th.

In the course of his reply to the prosecution, Mr. Keane said:—

"The genesis of the prosecution would be more accurately appreciated were he to reveal the fact that he felt it his duty to adopt a certain attitude towards the so-called Nationalists in Ireland who associated themselves with the Liberal Club in London. It was rather peculiar that Mr. Dudley White, also a member of that Liberal Club, should be sent down to prosecute in this case.

"He desired to point out to the Liberal Government that he was not responsible for the phrase, 'raising hell in Ireland.' The man who gave utterance to that expression was the man who was directly responsible for cattle-driving in Ireland, and that was Mr. Birrell. And then, when the people acted upon his suggestion to 'raise hell,' he sends down Mr. Dudley White, the champion of the National Liberal Club, to endeavour to commit the editor of the *Kilkenny People* to prison.

"Whatever may be the issue of this prosecution,' proceeded the speaker, 'I am not going to enter into bail for my good behaviour. It doesn't suit me to be sent to gaol if I can avoid it. I am not a professional politician, I am but an Irish working journalist, who, rather than degrade myself before this wretched Government—which has perpetrated acts even worse than the Coercion Party in Ireland—would not only go willingly to gaol, but would rot there before I would ask any man to go bail for my good behaviour.'"—*Irish Independent*, February 24.

In the end the magistrates declined to bind Mr. Keane to the peace. Verily the Government's chickens are coming home to roost.

Mr. Keane's temper may be judged by the following extract from a leader in the *Kilkenny People* the week preceding the trial:—

"Gaol or no gaol, the *Kilkenny People* is not going to be muzzled by Chief Secretary Birrell, Jury Packer Cherry, and their Irish allies and fellow-members of and worshippers in the 'temple of ease and luxury' known as the National Liberal Club."

This last hit at the members of the Irish Nationalist Party who are also members of the principal Liberal Club will in all probability effectually prevent any sympathy for Mr. Keane proceeding from the Nationalist Benches in the House of Commons.

Mr. Keane on his Victory.

Mr. Keane, the editor of the *Kilkenny People*, thus writes (February 27) on his victory over the Government who tried to bind him over under the Act of Edward III. for publishing articles likely to cause disorder in respect of a certain grazing farm :—

“The proceedings that took place in Kilkenny Courthouse on Tuesday last, when the editor of the *People* was arraigned by a Liberal Government under an Act passed in the reign of Edward III., for the purpose of putting down ‘rogues and vagabonds,’ culminated in a crushing defeat for the forces of the Crown, whose incompetent instruments and servile tools were hopelessly beaten at their own game and made the laughing-stock of the public, even of the avowed supporters of what is called the cause of ‘law and order’ in Ireland. . . . A prosecution was instituted against us and the Attorney-General, Mr. Cherry, who packed the juries in Limerick (‘not quite’ so bad, let it be said, in Mr. John Redmond’s words, as Peter the Packer used to do in his day), sent down his ‘devil,’ Mr. Dudley White, a member of the National Liberal Club, pledged like Mr. T. P. O’Connor, M.P., and several of his colleagues, to ‘advance the interests of the Liberal cause,’ to conduct the prosecution and to overawe the local magistrates. A removable magistrate—to use the term invented by Lord Morley in his Radical days—was imported from Waterford to aid in removing the obstruction to the advancement of the Liberal cause in Kilkenny in the person of the editor of the *People*.

“We hope the Government and the National Liberal Club, where so much money subscribed by the Irish exiles in America (it may be interesting to our fellow-citizen, Mr. John O’Callaghan, to note) is spent, are as satisfied with the result as we are.

“The infamous methods by which the lives and liberties of Irishmen have been sworn away in the past at the instigation of Dublin Castle were never more pitilessly revealed than in the cross-examination of the Crown witnesses, notably of the police constable who, in his eagerness to carry out the behests of his masters, deliberately swore that we had published in the columns of the *People* a direct incitement to assassination for which we could be sent to penal servitude. . . . Special ambassadors, paid out of the National Fund, can be sent to Manchester to ‘arrange’ the Irish vote for a British Cabinet Minister, but the liberties of 31 Tipperarymen are of less account in Westminster than the price of strawberries and cream on the Terrace. The burthen of supporting those in gaol is cast upon their fellow Nationalists of the district to which they belong, although thousands of pounds are coming in from America ostensibly to carry on a ‘virile fighting policy in Ireland.’

“We have been enabled when defending ourselves from the attack of the Government whose treachery we have exposed, to drag into the light of day the treatment of these Tipperarymen, left to fight out their battle without assistance. We shall not be deterred from doing our duty as Nationalist journalists. We shall continue to conduct this paper as we have always conducted it—as a fearless exponent of independent principles in Irish national politics, and we shall refuse to take our orders either from Dublin Castle or from the National Liberal Club in London. We stand for a genuine Nationalist

movement in Ireland and a genuine National policy ; not for a sham movement and a fraudulent policy. We have defeated the attack of Dublin Castle, and we are not afraid to meet it again, wherever and whenever it chooses."

The Law of the League.

Speaking at Glencorrib, near Shrule, on February 14, Mr. Cogan, an organiser of the United Irish League, said :—

"I wish to remind the people here that if this new Land Bill is not passed into law with the necessary amendments put forward by the Irish party, a wave of popular indignation will be raised in Ireland under the banner of the land for the people, and a fire shall be lighted throughout the length and breadth of the land that shall not be extinguished until the Government is forced to recognise that the grazing system must be abolished."—*Western People*, February 20.

From the *Sligo Champion* (February 20) :—

Killoran Branch.

The Committee had under consideration the action of a member of the League who held a small 11 months' farm. He was called before the meeting and stated that he would surrender same. He was let off under the "First Offenders Act."

From the *Dublin Daily Express* (February 23) :—

Ballintubber Branch.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed :—

"That we call upon the surrounding branches of the United Irish League to keep a vigilant eye upon the obnoxious men of this parish at fairs and markets, and see that they are left severely alone, as otherwise we look upon people who associate with these parties as deadly enemies of the cause for which we are fighting."

"That we call upon all parties who hold any influence in recommending parties for holdings of land to the Estates Commissioners or Congested Districts Board, to recommend no parties for such land in future who have not been twelve months previous to doing so members of the United Irish League."

Kilfian Branch, U.I. League.

The chairman proposed and Mr. T. M'Hale seconded the following resolution :—

"That we again call upon the graziers of this locality not to retake the grazing farms which they hold, and are asked to notify this Branch to that effect before this day fortnight, and in the event of their not doing so, their names will be published in the public Press, and a *modus operandi* will be adopted which will compel them to surrender."—*Western People*, March 6.

Sooev Branch, U.I. League.

"Michael Mulvanny having failed to attend before the meeting to answer a charge preferred against him of violating the rules of

the U.I. League, after some discussion on the matter it was decided that the case be held over to our next meeting on the 7th of March, and that this man be again called upon to give an explanation."—*Sligo Champion*, March 6.

Ballyrush Branch.

"... Some people are warned to be cautious in their dealings with a certain man in the district. They might remember that the Heapstown tenantry are not yet given back their land. A word to the wise is enough."—*Sligo Champion*, March 13.

U.I.L. Organiser goes to Prison.

On March 6, Mr. Dermot O'Brien, a U.I.L. Organiser, was arrested in Templemore, Tipperary, charged with delivering inflammatory speeches denouncing Messrs. Hughes, graziers, and in default of giving bail went to prison for three months.

A Note from the Past.

Mr. GLADSTONE:

"It has been attempted also to compare the Land League with the trades' unions of this country. Sir, the trades' unions of this country, I do not hesitate to say, marked an onward step in the intelligence and in the love of law and order among the working classes of this country. The trades' unions of this country—I set aside now that which I believe to be their primary and most noble purpose, namely, that of maintaining the independence of the working order, and preventing its members from becoming a burden on the community—the trades' unions of this country, when entering into the competition between labour and capital, **have never for one moment tainted themselves either by a word or by an act which could bring them into suspicion in connection with outrage or the maintenance of law.**"—*Hansard*, House of Commons, Jan. 28, 1881.

LIFE IN IRELAND.

A Diary of Outrages, etc., under Radical Rule.

"I am not going to palliate or minimise the deplorable state of things which exists in some parts of Ireland. I and my colleagues would be false to our duty and false to our real opinions if we did anything of the kind. I quite admit that there are going on in some parts of Ireland things which are reprehensible, which ought to be put down, which public opinion ought to condemn, and which, so far as the arm of the law is strong enough to reach them, the arm of the law ought never to be slack in reaching and preventing."—Mr. Asquith, House of Commons, February 16.

February 20—Co. Tipperary.—At the Thurles Petty Sessions 11 men were charged with disorderly conduct at Holycross on January 31, with intent to intimidate. Evidence showed that the defendants formed part of a band which assembled at a spot between the village and the Protestant Church and played during the time that service was proceeding. The police informed them that they must not disturb the congregation; they did not desist, however, but continued making much more noise. After some consultation the chairman said that the magistrates refused to bind defendants to the peace. In the afternoon, when about 60 or 70 extra police, drafted into the town for the day, were being marched to the railway station, they were followed by a crowd, stones were thrown, and a baton charge had to be made.—*Irish Times*, February 22.

February 20—Co. Westmeath.—An extensive cattle-drive took place at Rathganny, on the lands held by Mr. Patrick Connell, making the third drive that has taken place off this farm. Another drive was carried out in the same district from the lands of Mr. Michael Cully.—*Dublin Daily Express*, February 23.

February 22—Co. Galway.—Six men were brought before a magistrate, at Tuam, on a charge of intimidating Mr. R. Blake, of Ballyglunin Park, and his bailiff, on February 7. The cases were adjourned for eight weeks, the defendants giving a guarantee of good behaviour.—*Dublin Daily Express*, February 23.

February 22—Co. Tipperary.—A number of cattle were driven off the lands of Mr. J. F. Lloyd, at Killough. This makes the third drive that has taken place off this farm.—*Irish Times*, February 24.

February 26—Co. Galway.—In connection with the Craughwell murder the two men who were remanded (see IRISH FACTS, January 22) were again brought up, but as there was no further evidence, the defendants were discharged.—*Irish Times*, February 27.

February 26—Co. Galway.—At a special court in Galway two men, named John Beatty and George Glynn, were charged with firing into the

house of Peter Greelish, of Oranmore (see IRISH FACTS, February 10). They were both returned for trial, bail being allowed.—*Galway Observer*, February 27.

February 27—Co. Tipperary.—About five o'clock in the morning a shed belonging to Mr. Peter King, a farmer, in which a number of cattle were stalled, was fired. Mr. King, hearing the bellowing of the imprisoned animals, rushed to the stable, but only succeeded in liberating five, six of the animals being roasted to death.—*Irish Times*, March 2.

March 1—Co. Galway.—Nine men were charged at Craughwell with intimidating Michael Ryan, the son of Mrs. Ryan, who holds the evicted farm where Police-Constable Goldrick was murdered. It was stated in evidence that on February 24, when Ryan came up to the farm, a number of men who were at work in a field of an adjoining farm, commenced to shout and groan at him. The prisoners were bound over for six months, and on giving the necessary sureties were released.—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 2.

March 1—Co. Tipperary.—Three men, members of the United Irish League, Loughmore Branch, were arrested and conveyed to Templemore, where they were charged with boycotting and intimidating five persons in the employ of Colonel FitzGibbon Trant. One of the defendants was discharged, the remaining two being remanded for trial at the next assizes, and were admitted to bail.—*Freeman's Journal*, March 3.

March 3—Co. Roscommon.—Ten men were charged at Frenchpark with intimidating John Connor, a farmer in the district, on January 29. On an undertaking being given not to interfere with Connor or his lands the cases were adjourned for two months. When the accused were released they were loudly cheered by a large crowd in the vicinity of the court house.—*Freeman's Journal*, March 4.

March 4—Co. Clare.—At the Clare Assizes Patrick Tierney was charged under the Whiteboy Act with having appeared with a revolver to the terror of His Majesty's subjects. The jury acquitted the prisoner. At the same Assizes and on the same date Bartholomew M'Mahon was charged with obstructing the police and with attempting to rescue a prisoner in the custody of the police. The jury acquitted the prisoner.—*Irish Times*, March 5.

March 4—Co. Cork.—Five men were charged at Knocknagru Petty Sessions with unlawful assembly on the lands of Umerabay on December 12 last, for the purpose of deterring and intimidating a sheriff's officer named George Mannix from performing his duty, and with having discharged revolvers on the same occasion. The sheriff's officer (George Mannix) stated in evidence that on the date in question he proceeded to Umerabay to serve summonses. A crowd assembled, and there was a lot of hooting and horn blowing, revolver shots were also fired. He was so intimidated by the demeanour of the crowd that he considered it prudent to retire without completing his business. The crowd followed him for about four or five miles, and all the time keeping up the threatening attitude. Four of the defendants were bound over to keep the peace for 12 months, the other one being discharged.—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 6.

March 4—Co. Roscommon.—A process-server named Kilroe visited Cloonakilbeg and Mount Talbot to serve 20 processes of ejectment on

tenants on the estate of Killy Mahon. He had served one process when a crowd collected and hooted and groaned at him. He was so frightened that he told the police he would sooner resign than make a second attempt.—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 6.

March 5—Co. Galway.—A shooting outrage occurred near the city of Galway, an attack being made on the house of a man named Michael Flaherty. While Flaherty and his family were seated in his kitchen, shots were fired through the window shattering the glass and frame, but fortunately without injuring any of the occupants.—*Belfast News Letter*, March 8.

March 7—Co. Tipperary.—Mr. Dermot O'Brien, United Irish League organiser, was arrested at Templemore and charged with inciting to boycott and injure Messrs. Hughes, of Ballyphilip, on February 28. Defendant was bound over to be of good behaviour, or in default three months' imprisonment. He declined to give bail, and was committed to prison.—*Irish Times*, March 8.

March 9—Co. Tipperary.—Nine men were charged at the North Tipperary Assizes held at Nenagh, with conspiracy against Mr. Neville Clarke, of Holycross (see IRISH FACTS, November 23 and December 2). Application was made to postpone the trial, to which the Lord Chief Baron agreed, the defendants being bound over to appear for their trial at the next assizes at Nenagh. At the same Assizes, on the same date, James Hennessey was brought forward for trial in connection with the Templemore explosion (see IRISH FACTS, October 18 and 29, and December 4, 1908). The jury returned a verdict of "Not guilty," and the defendant was discharged. On the same night of the trial of the above cases a large demonstration was held at Nenagh to give a send-off to the Holycross prisoners. A band marched with them to the railway station, where speeches were made. Hennessey—the man acquitted in the Templemore case—amongst others, spoke. The witnesses were groaned and hooted, one of them (a woman) being attacked by some boys.—*Irish Times*, March 10.

March 9—Co. Limerick.—At the Limerick Spring Assizes, held at Limerick, 11 men were charged with riot and unlawful assembly at Kilfinane on January 28 last (see IRISH FACTS, January 28). The jury returned a verdict of "Not guilty" against eight of the defendants, and disagreed in the case of three others, who were allowed out on bail.—*Limerick Leader*, March 10.

March 10—Co. Sligo.—At the Spring Assizes held at Sligo, 717 men belonging to the neighbourhood of Riverstown were charged with having by means of intimidation attempted to compel certain Protestant farmers in the vicinity to join the United Irish League. Application was made for the venue of the trial to be changed from Sligo to Dublin, which was granted, the defendants being admitted to bail.—*Irish Times*, March 11.

March 11—Co. Tipperary.—Andrew Fogarty, a civil bill officer, proceeded to the estate of Colonel FitzGibbon Trant, J.P., for the purpose of serving ejectment processes for rent on his tenants. He was accompanied by a bodyguard of 11 policemen, when a crowd quickly assembled and followed the officer in his movements as he effected service after service, but he was allowed to complete his duties without molestation, and returned to Thurles.—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 12.

March 11.—At the same Assizes seven of the prisoners who were put back at the Limerick Assizes in connection with the Geevah riots on January 8, 1908 (see IRISH FACTS, December 1) were brought up for trial, but application was made for the cases to be postponed until the next Assizes, which was granted.—*Roscommon Herald*, March 13.

March 11—Co. Roscommon.—At the Ballintubber Petty Sessions two men named Pat Kenny and Peter Cooney were charged with having at Cartrin, on February 22, intimidated one William Glover so as to prevent him from carrying on his lawful business. On the defendants undertaking not to interfere with Glover in future, the case was adjourned for three months.—*Irish Times*, March 12.

March 12—Co. Galway.—About 8.30 p.m., the house of a man named Lawrence Healey, of Foxtail Hill, near Gort, was fired into, and several of the windows were smashed.—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 15.

March 17—King's County.—A public meeting under the auspices of the United Irish League was to have been held at a place called Clonakenny, Roscrea, but the police issued notices that the meeting had been proclaimed, and the County Inspector called on the Rev. P. Crowe informing him that the meeting could not be held. About 130 police marched to the spot where the meeting was to have been held, and found a crowd of over 1,000 people assembled. The Rev. Father Crowe questioned the authority for proclaiming the meeting, but the Inspector would not satisfy him, whereon the crowd groaned at the police. The members of the League then decided to abandon the meeting so far as Clonakenny was concerned.—*Irish Times*, March 18.

March 22—Co. Clare.—A correspondent of the *Dublin Daily Express* reports that the other night shots were fired into the house of a farmer named James Finucane, of Leamnalehy, and his windows were broken with stones. The outrage is attributed to Finucane having bought some grazing farms, and that the wedding of his daughter was attended by an unpopular farmer in the district. Finucane had a narrow escape.

THE IRISH DEBATE.

The following extracts will be found useful; they are taken from the official report of the Parliamentary Debates of February 23, 24, 1909.

THE LAND.

Earl Percy.

"This year His Majesty's Government have discovered a totally new explanation of this condition of affairs in Ireland. They have discovered, and I daresay that the Chief Secretary will announce the same discovery this evening, that it is all due to the land hunger of the Irish people, accentuated, sharpened, and whetted by the Land Act of 1903, of which they themselves were among the most earnest and cordial supporters. . . .

"If he tells us it is impossible to put a stop to this state of things, and that he has exhausted all possible methods, let me ask him why he has not done this—why does he not announce that instructions have been given to the Estates Commissioners that they are not to purchase any land in districts in which intimidation is going on, and that whether they pass a Land Act or not, when that comes into operation, no land will be divided or assigned to people who have been convicted or punished for intimidation?"

Mr. J. H. Campbell, K.C., quoting Lord Crewe:—

"The real cause of all this turmoil—which he deplored, but the existence of which he did not venture to deny—was to be found in the Land Purchase Act of 1903."

Mr. J. H. Campbell, K.C.

"What is the object of cattle-driving? Simply to intimidate the man in occupation of the land. No plainer example of intimidation can be found than in the illegal act of driving away another man's cattle, and whether it happens in one or forty cases, every individual who has taken part, every person who has taken part in these 1,100 cattle-drives in Ireland could and ought to have been proceeded against for intimidation under Section 2 of the Crimes Act."

Mr. Birrell.

"The difficulty is that we cannot catch them. I want an answer to that question. I want to know how I am to catch these people. I am perfectly certain if I caught them they would be punished by the ordinary law and by the feeling of the community in, at all events, a considerable number of cases."

The Attorney-General for Ireland.

"Still, it is not such a very terrible thing that a number of young men, anxious to get land, go out, and, to make a demonstration, drive the cattle off a farm for a few miles, where they are found next day by the police, and brought back again."

ARMS ACT.**Earl Percy.**

"What makes their conduct more intolerable—and I challenge the right hon. Gentleman to contradict me on this point—is that the repeal of the Peace Preservation Act was carried through in the teeth of the advice of almost all the police authorities. . . .

"It was passed by the Liberal Government in 1881. No one has ever pretended that it was not effective for the purpose for which introduced. When Lord Morley was Chief Secretary, he amended the Act in the direction of strengthening the power of the Resident Magistrate. When he was asked to repeal it, he refused to do so on the avowed ground that it had nothing to do with coercion, and was a mere matter of police regulation."

CRIME.**Mr. J. Redmond.**

"I claim respectfully to have proved first of all that crime generally in England is greater in proportion to population than it is in Ireland, and that that is especially true of the more serious classes of crime. I profess to have proved from the official statistics that crime in England is increasing, and has been for several years past, and especially increasing in the serious classes of crime; that in Ireland, in the same years, crime generally has been decreasing in the serious classes."

Mr. S. H. Butcher.

"The difference between crime in England and crime in Ireland is this—and it is this which makes the difficulty and gravity of Irish crime: Crime in England, speaking broadly, is the work of individuals. It springs from individual passions, individual malice, whereas in Ireland crime, again speaking broadly, is the work of organised societies, and, I am afraid, I ought to say of organised groups of individuals. . . .

"It is a cold, criminal, systematised tyranny, that works by material wrong and through moral terror."

Sir E. Carson.

"I shall make an offer to the hon. and learned Member if he and his colleagues who are the representatives of the people in those parts of Ireland will assist the right hon. Gentleman to go down into those parts and denounce outrage and crime. . . .

"I will undertake upon my own behalf, and I believe I can undertake on behalf of every Gentleman on this side of the House, that we will not mention again the subject of disturbances."

Mr. Dillon.

"I say the Irish Members would be perfectly willing not only to go down and denounce outrage, but to put down outrage absolutely if this House will put us in the position to tell the people that their legitimate grievances will be remedied, and remedied in the near future."

UNITED IRISH LEAGUE AND THE PRESS.**Earl Percy.**

"Let me take one of the worst forms of intimidation at present going on—the publication in the Irish Press of reports of meetings of branches of the United Irish League and of the sentences passed on people who, having incurred their displeasure, are brought before them. . . .

"The Chief Secretary says the results have been entirely satisfactory, because most of the papers have ceased publishing these notices giving the names of the individuals concerned. . . .

"Let me read one or two of the notices which are being published still in the Irish papers, and ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, after reading them, he would have any great difficulty in discovering the person alluded to. . . .

"Here is one from the *Roscommon Herald*, February 6, 1909 :—

"The only matter that caused any discussion, was the action of a man in the town who allowed his car to be used as a transport car for the conveyance of prisoners from Clondra to Newtown. His conduct was severely criticised by the members present, who expressed themselves determined to do all in their power against the ranching system, and anyone who would associate with it."

THE MAIN CHARGE.**Earl Percy.**

"Are we really to be told that you who are entrusted with the duty of seeing that law is a terror to the evil-doer are going to be satisfied with the statement of Lord Crewe that the Government is absolutely impotent to protect the ordinary citizens of this country from intimidation and boycotting, and if you do make that plea, by what right and title do you continue the offices and responsibilities which you do—offices the responsibilities of which, of your own showing, you are unable to discharge? . . .

"Does anyone really believe that a single Unionist Free Trader would have given his vote for you at the last General Election if he had thought that his vote would be used to undermine law and order in Ireland? Everyone knows you have kept one part of your promise. You have not offered the control of Ireland to an Irish Parliament; but you have handed over that control to the Executive of the United Irish League.

"You have denied to thousands of peaceful citizens that protection which is the right of every subject of His Majesty to claim, and they have now no resort except an appeal to the justice of the Imperial Parliament."

Mr. Birrell.

"I have suffered misrepresentation, because I have insisted on maintaining my right to carry out Liberal principles, and whilst maintaining my right to maintain the law to the utmost of my power, I will not simply, even for the sake of getting a few more convictions than I have been able to do up to the present time, break up the great Liberal tradition and break up my own hopes for the future of Ireland."

Mr. A. J. Balfour.

"Why is it inconsistent with Liberal principle? Judging by the past, it is not inconsistent with Liberal principle. There was no Liberal politician at the head of his party before 1885 who had not had a hand at some time or another in passing a Crimes Act for Ireland. Therefore, it is not the old tradition of the Liberal party; it is the new tradition. It is not the tradition in which Mr. Gladstone was brought up, nor Sir George Trevelyan, nor Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, nor Lord Spencer. All those gentlemen were responsible for passing Crimes Acts and defending Crimes Acts. . . .

"Is it a Liberal principle that a man should not cultivate his own land in his own way? Is it a Liberal principle that a farm-labourer who has offended in some way a local branch of the League should be denied the necessities of life? Are we to martyr to Liberal principles and to sacrifice to a modern development of an ancient and honourable political creed these people who happen to have incurred the wrath of those who think that their own personal position would be improved by some modification of the tenure of particular plots of land. To admit that these are Liberal principles seems to me to destroy the whole of Liberalism."

MR. BIRRELL'S CONSCIENCE.

Mr. Birrell reminds us of nothing so much as the chairman of a rotten and decadent company. Year after year he has met the shareholders with a flattering travesty of facts. At first all was well, Ireland was more peaceful than she had been for six centuries, the Board would simply redeem the promises of the prospectus. Later, his tone became subdued—things were not going just as had been expected, but there was nothing seriously wrong, nothing that might not be reasonably looked for under the circumstances; beyond a temporary postponement of dividends the shareholders need anticipate no inconvenience, the Board saw their way and were confident of the result of their policy. But there comes to all such concerns a period when even the most intrepid and resourceful chairman has to descend from cloudy optimism to the region of actuality, and has to face the dreadful realities of hopes falsified and a banking account overdrawn. We all know, some of us from painful experience, the set formula in which gentlemen placed in this unhappy position expound the situation to their constituents. Then is the confession of disappointed ambitions made with a fine assumption of candour; the comparison with other conditions more or less cognate to the subject; and the buoyant assurance that there is a silver lining to the cloud, and that the sun of prosperity will yet shine through if shareholders will only have a little patience—and consent to another assessment.

Mr. Birrell has run through the whole gamut of these protestations during the last fortnight. At the dinner of the "Eighty Club" he admitted that "in certain parts of Ireland many things go on which cannot be regarded otherwise than with extreme reprehension. There is ruthless disregard in many places of the rights of individuals, of the rights of the people to lead their own lives in their own way!" No one has ever said more than that—that Ireland is bankrupt of liberty. And yet Mr. Birrell, to appease his shareholders, compares the criminal statistics of Ireland with those of Great Britain. The comparison is fallacious; it is almost fraudulent. A British crime begins and ends with itself; the Irish crime is only the beginning of a tyranny which is in itself a network of crime. There is, for example, no comparison between the slaying of a constable in Tottenham and in Craughwell. The one deplorable act ended where it began, the other lives on to propagate demoralisation and terror; the one is an isolated act, the other the outcome of a deliberate policy. Nor is Mr. Birrell's comparison of the criminal statistics of to-day with those of 1887 much more fortunate. The crime of that earlier period was the aftermath of the gigantic lawlessness of another Liberal régime. It had at least this excuse (if such things can ever be excusable)—that it was the product of a sense of wrong, real or fancied, of a revolt against demands which depression had often made burdensome. The crime of to-day has no such palliation. It is the offspring, not of poverty, but of greed; the deliberate policy of men seeking to obtain that to which they have no right or title, legal or moral. And moreover, that vast and widespread criminality of 1887 was defeated by firmness until, in 20 years, Ireland was in a condition of repose which she had not, on Mr. Birrell's statement, enjoyed since the time of the Plantagenets. It is the more astonishing that Mr. Birrell did not perceive this fatal flaw in his argument when we recall that Lord

Macdonnell had recently stated that by a little firmness cattle-driving might have been nipped in the bud.

Yet in spite of all, of the demonstration by the Unionist Government that firm administration can make order emerge from chaos, and of his own experience of the reduction of order into chaos, Mr. Birrell asked his audience at the Eighty Club to believe in the approaching triumph of his policy. He had the hardihood to declare that "obedience to and regard for the law has been strengthened," and that "my administration of the law has done far more in producing the results we have at heart than if we had adopted coercion"; and all this a few days after Lord Macdonnell had said, in the House of Lords, that, had he to go through the last three years over again, he would give short shrift to agitation. "The results we have at heart." What are they? If they be the forcible transfer of property from one class to another, the destruction of the cattle trade, the subjugation of loyalty to treason, then Mr. Birrell is entitled to plume himself on his remarkable success. But if they be—as in justice to Mr. Birrell we must assume they are—to maintain individual liberty and the security of legal rights, to uphold contracts and promote prosperity, then Mr. Birrell has signally and egregiously failed. We desire, said Mr. Birrell, to teach the Irish people that the law is their friend, not their enemy. Then he has utterly and disastrously failed. For mere platonic professions of friendship are insufficient; to win confidence the law must prove that it can translate profession into practice. Indeed, unless it can do so, it were better that it should profess indifference rather than friendship, for then it would at least not be brought into contempt for its impotence. But, leaving that point, how can Mr. Birrell pretend that he is succeeding in persuading the people that the law is their friend at the time when outraged persons not only get no redress from the law, but are actually afraid to report their wrongs to the servants of the law? This fantastic utterance is only part of the formula wherewith the head of some wild-cat proposition softens the situation to irate scripholders.

The coping stone of Mr. Birrell's apologies consists, however, in the proclamation that he has a conscience. "It is true," he says in effect, "that a Crimes Act is in existence, it is true that the Tories found it efficacious, it is true that Lord Macdonnell, in the light of experience, would have used it. But I—I was debarred from doing so because I have a conscience. How could I enforce an Act against which I voted?" We are not greatly concerned to find an answer to the question, except to say that the enforcement of laws by those who objected to their enactment when in opposition is a commonplace and a necessity of all civilised administrations. Nor are we greatly interested in Mr. Birrell's conscience. It is gratifying to learn that he has one; but when he swaggers about it, he ought to make sacrifices for it. He cannot decently boast that his conscience stands in the way of the maintenance of individual rights, and draw a large salary for maintaining those rights. He cannot finger the coins he draws from the taxpayers with one hand, while with the other he smites his bosom and calls those taxpayers to witness that he has a conscience tender above the common run. It is no satisfaction to the victims of anarchy—the wounded men and mutilated animals, the industrious persons who are prohibited from being industrious, the honourable who are forbidden to be honest, the people who want to be free and are forced into slavery—to learn that Mr. Birrell is consistent and conscientious.

The British people admire virtue in their public men, they like them to be consistent and straight, but they prefer them to do their duty. They do not stand upon quibbles. They grasp the simple fact that the first duty of a Government is to govern, and when they see this duty neglected they are in no mood for splitting straws like schoolmen of the Middle Ages. And, indeed, the neglect of this primary function of government is of very real and bitter moment to the British citizen. Above the obligations to his fellow citizens (the law-abiding ones) in Ireland are his obligations to himself. Of set and deliberate purpose the British people are investing in Irish land a sum but little less than was spent on the South African War. Where is the security for that vast capital if the forces of order capitulate to anarchy? Where is the end of the expenditure if violence is to be bought off, not repressed? What hope is there of finality if blackmail is to rule the country? These are questions which they are beginning to ask, and to which they must find an answer, and that speedily. Ireland is drifting, even more rapidly, into a sea of troubles whereof no man may see the other side. A mutinous and turbulent crew have seized the vessel, the captain sits complacent in his cabin—he has a conscience.

A VISIT TO CRAUGHWELL.

For the last two or three days I have been trying, in the joint capacity of navy and stonemason, to earn an honest penny. However, the weather, my own shortcomings, and, above all, public opinion at Craughwell, have been so bitterly against me that I have had to give it up. Owing, no doubt, to some defect in my early education, I am unable to master the art of repairing a loose stone wall, and the difficulties have been greatly increased in my case by the embarrassment of having to work under the eye of about a dozen constables, armed with shot-guns and rifles. One might as well be in Dartmoor.

The wall which I have been trying to repair is the one at which Mrs. Ryan's two emergency men were at work when they were shot, and over which Constable Martin Goldrick leapt to pursue and be killed by his assassins. I got permission to set to work on the forbidden wall just as any other honest labouring man might have done; but I was told that I must give the police due warning of my intentions. I did so, with the result that I was guarded at work, and escorted to and from my hotel at Athenry, five miles away; and police sentries kept watch over the hotel night and morning.

My object in undertaking the work at all was to test the public feeling in this district, which Mr. Birrell at Bristol candidly described as the blackest spot in Ireland. It is so. As he said, a murderous spirit has lurked here for sixty years.

It is a wild and sinister land, whose aspect fully bears out its evil reputation. Vast plains of coarse grass thickly strewn with grey limestone boulders are dotted here and there with clumps of dark trees in which lurk little villages. Some of them, with conical thatched cottages whose roofs come nearly to the ground, and before whose doors play little children, watched over by swarthy, black-haired mothers, have almost the air of wild West Indian settlements. Sudden gulches and ravines abound, wherein whole regiments might lie in hiding. There are thickets, banks, stone walls, and ditches that afford ambushes innumerable. This is the "Bad Lands" of Ireland, and Craughwell lies in the heart of it.

The inhabitants of this ill-favoured place are not like the peasantry of other "disturbed areas." They are not rowdy. They hold the shoutings, boogings, and hornblowings of the ordinary rioter in supreme contempt. They even consider cattle-maiming and cattle-driving frivolous amusements, unworthy of the serious-minded patriot. The whole district hereabouts is alive with secret societies. The traditions of the Whiteboys still survive; and the Invincibles, founded thirty years ago by Keary, have not yet died out. Compared with some of the gangs known to infest the immediate neighbourhood of Craughwell, the United Irish League is a just and law-abiding society. In this very case of the boycotting of Mrs. Ryan, which involved the murder of Goldrick, the decision of the League was set aside as being too weakly merciful. The case was this: the farm which Mrs. Ryan has taken up was held till 1890 by one Gilligan, who in that year was evicted, having paid no rent since 1886. The farm was untenanted until three years ago, and then Mrs. Ryan, returning from America with a little money, decided to take it. She paid Gilligan £20 for his goodwill, and he not only expressed himself quite satisfied at the time, but subsequently wrote a letter in the same strain to the South Galway Executive

of the League, before whom the case was brought. The League therefore decided that Mrs. Ryan had given every satisfaction, and held her blameless in taking up the farm. But the villagers of Craughwell, or, at all events, the leaders of a gang of blackguards by whom all the rest are terrorised, had no intention of letting the poor woman off in this manner. It is openly said that the whole shameful business which led up to the murder has been engineered by one or two individuals who covet the plot of land—a poor six acres—for themselves. Mrs. Ryan has been vigorously boycotted for three years, during which time none of her friends or relations have been able to visit her or stay with her. As she herself told me, she has not had a Christian across her threshold for three years. And of course all the incidental evils of boycotting, such as the difficulty of obtaining food, or of going about, have fallen to the lot of herself and her children. Last week, just before I arrived here, nine or ten fellows were brought before the magistrate for threatening and intimidating her son, a lad of about fourteen or fifteen. Such is the case of a widow woman against whom the League have admittedly no grievance.

I had expected that when I set to work to repair the wall some hostile demonstration would be made, such as I have already experienced when associating myself publicly with boycotted persons in other parts of Ireland. In this, however, I was mistaken. On Friday there was a great fair at Athenry; and on that day many persons passing along the road gave me "Good-day," or stopped for a word or two. But these were people from distant towns or villages. With the exception of one bitterly ironical "God bless the worrk!" no dweller in Craughwell or its neighbourhood said one word to me. Indeed, they were most ostentatious in their disregard of my presence. In any district possessed of a easy conscience, the sight of tweeds doing the work of corduroys would have excited a very natural curiosity. But the people of the Bad Lands kept carefully aloof. On the first day I noticed no one on the roads save one or two women, who wandered aimlessly past me, and then, with elaborate indifference, strolled back. Only one constable was in sight at this time, though the others—nine, I think—were all within a few hundred yards of me, watching the various approaches to the field. Yet I saw no men; and the feeling of uneasiness, consequent upon the knowledge that at least two murderers are at large in the neighbourhood, soon left me. I supposed that the news that someone was working at the wall had not yet got about, and said so to one of my guards later on in the day. He laughed, and told me that I had not been at work fifteen minutes before "half a dozen of the brightest boys in the countryside" passed close by me.

I found the work of wall-building interesting but difficult. It may seem very easy to pile stones atop of one another until a certain height is reached, but it isn't. I worked in a blinding snowstorm one day, and in about a foot and a half of mud on another; and still nothing happened. Then I realised the truth in the words of an officer of the R.I.C., who plainly told me that if I hoped to meet with any evidences of hostility I should surely be disappointed.

"These people don't waste time on that sort of thing," said he. "As long as you are strongly guarded, you may work for a month and nothing will happen. As soon as you go about unprotected, you will be shot. They know that the neighbourhood of the wall is thoroughly watched, and they will do nothing there. They will wait until they catch you off your guard somewhere else, and then—well, you won't tell about what happens next."

ALAN OSTLER.

THE BOYCOTT IN LONGFORD.

LONGFORD, *February 25, 1909.*

The parish of Clonguish, adjoining the town of Longford, numbers some seven or eight hundred souls, of whom something like one hundred and fifty are at this moment boycotted. I have been visiting some of these people recently, and I have by me as I write a list of stories of violence and oppression which would seem an exaggeration if told them in the Western States of America in their most lawless days.

To be boycotted means that those about you do their best to make your life as unpleasant and as unsafe as they possibly can. In the course of one day's round of visits I have encountered people who dare not show themselves on their own property without a guard of police; whose servants, caught abroad, are attacked and beaten, as was Patrick Gray, groom to Mr. Alexander Percival, of Minard, Newtownforbes. Gray went into the town to post some letters, and was recognised by Mr. James Walsh, secretary to the Clonguish Branch of the United Irish League. Mr. Walsh at once knocked him down, and so savagely kicked him, that the man sustained a rupture that will last him through life. The assailant was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for this, on Tuesday, and has given notice of appeal. Mr. Percival and others have been describing to me the pitiful shifts to which they are put to buy bread and meat—some having to send to Dublin for it, others getting it in other ways which it is wiser not to divulge. Three or four doors from the hotel in which I write is a butcher's shop, whose owner did a thriving trade until two days ago. Then he was detected in an act of kindness to a boycotted person; and to-day his shop is empty. I passed it this morning, and wondered why no meat was displayed for sale. How should there be, when none would dare to buy it?

The life of the boycotted man is such as no one who has not lived it can be expected to imagine. He is shunned by everyone, save when he is actively assaulted. He must go armed—just imagine to yourself that in the United Kingdom there are scores of men who have to carry loaded revolvers, and to be prepared to use them—and he knows that his house and property are liable to be attacked at any moment. His women-folk, his children, and his servants are in the same hateful predicament as himself, and these are the conditions in which 150 persons within three or four miles of me at this moment have been living for months.

The reason for all this is simply the greed of small farmers, who want to get possession of more land at the public expense—at **your** expense, Mr. British Taxpayer! Longford is not even in the "congested" area. None of the special features that are supposed to apply to the congested areas apply to any part of this county. The agitators have not even the excuse of poverty. Poverty—why, the poorest people here are infinitely well-to-do compared with thousands to be seen in any large town in Great Britain. One of the last things I saw in London was a scarecrow woman, munching garbage out of the gutter, and rummaging there for more. The first sight that met me in Dublin was a group of bare-footed, half-naked children trying to sell matches and papers. If these peasants here could show anything like that, there would be at least a reason, though not a justification, for their inhuman conduct. When the unemployed of London do ultimately let Socialists persuade them into raiding the West End, they can at least point to rags and staring ribs,

hollow cheeks and empty bellies, as an excuse. But these people, who are using every cruelty and crime to make the lives of tenants on desirable estates an impossibility, have no such excuses to point to. I have looked carefully for acute distress here. There is none. The poorest children are warmly, if shabbily, clad—I have not seen one without boots yet. The poorest woman has good, if coarse, food to eat. To call them poor, knowing what poverty is in London or Dublin, is a lie.

The whole of this League agitation for the division of the land among the people is one monstrous political "fake." To begin with, half the people who are to have more land can't or won't till the land they have already. I have been looking at some of the holdings here with special attention. In a district of a few miles, where 150 people are being cruelly attacked in every way in order to force them to surrender their land, those amongst whom it is to be shared should display some signs of needing it acutely. But what is the case? Drive from Longford to Newtownforbes, and you will pass plenty of plots of land owned by "the poor fellows who ought to have more." And what are these same poor fellows doing with their plots? Why, barring here and there an odd corner sown with potatoes or oats, they are using them as grazing grounds for jackasses and goats. Fully a third of the present holders do not know how to till their land. The rest don't want to. They prefer to lead an idle life, letting out their land to graze, just as the "ranchers" do.

And now for these ranchers. It is a crime, we are told, that land which ought to be tilled by men should be used as grazing land. Mr. Birrell himself has told us that he would rather see men than bullocks on the land. Very well; supposing that the Irish peasant wants to till the land—which he does not—how are those who set him the example encouraged? Why, they are prohibited by the United Irish League from doing it. They are compelled, by the United Irish League, to become ranchers, whether they will or not.

Here is a case. Mr. Percival, to whom I have just referred, is perhaps the largest tenant on the much-coveted estate of Col. Sholto-Douglas. On that account, he is, of course, vigorously boycotted, and I had to use strategy to get my jarvey to drive me near his house. Now, Mr. Percival used to go in for farming in the ordinary sense of the word—keeping milk cattle, raising crops, and so forth, whereby, of course, the land benefited. The League orders his servants to leave him. **Thirty farm hands left that estate in three days at the bidding of the League,** with the result that no tenant can raise crops, or keep milk cows. He has to rear dry stock—bullocks—only. The land is used, can only be used, as grazing land, and suffers accordingly. Who is ruining the land—the tenant, or the League?

Again, what of the men formerly employed by the tenants? The League has robbed them of their livelihood. Does it provide for them? Not it. If they do not obey its command, they suffer as Patrick Gray has suffered. And if they obey—well, Michael Diffly obeyed. He was employed by Mr. Michael McCann, a mile or so from Mr. Percival's place. Diffly was earning 9s. a week, and was kept into the bargain, as were many others like him. Nine shillings a week, plus your keep, is good pay here. But the League forced Michael Diffly and many like him to throw this up.

He died in the workhouse within a few months.

ALAN OSTLER.

IRISH DIARY.

1909.

March 3.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Debate on Reckless use of firearms in Ireland. Speeches by Earl Camperdown, Lord Denman, Earl Crewe, and Marquess of Lansdowne.

Earl Cawdor at Aldershot, and Mr. Birrell at Bristol, on Irish Affairs.

March 7.—Mr. J. Dillon, M.P., at Battersea.

March 14.—Mr. J. Dillon, M.P., at Glasgow, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., at Newcastle-on-Tyne.

March 15.—Mr. J. Redmond at Sunderland, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., at Bradford.

March 16.—Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., at Liverpool.

March 17.—Mr. J. Redmond at the St. Patrick's Day banquet at the Hotel Cecil, London.

Mr. J. Devlin, M.P., at Ballymacarrett.

March 18.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Debate on Cattle-driving in Ireland. Speeches by Earl Donoughmore, Earl Beauchamp, Earl Crewe, and Marquess of Lansdowne.

March 19.—Mr. Devlin, M.P., at Letterkenny.

March 21.—Meeting at Kanturk of the "All-for-Ireland" League. Address by Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P.

March 23.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Debate on publication of United Irish League resolutions. Speeches by Earl Beauchamp, Lord Londonderry, and Lord Loreburn.

March 28.—Mr. J. Redmond at Liverpool.

IRISH FACTS.

MAY, 1909.

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IRISH FACTS.

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[MAY, 1909.

CURRENT NOTES.

The Croydon Election.

The *Morning Post* (March 30) says:—

“Among the agencies which have rendered most useful service, in the contest honourable mention is due to the Union Defence League, which has throughout brought prominently before the electors the duty of affording adequate protection to life and property in Ireland.”

Young England.

We are glad to learn that the members of the London University Debating Union have recently passed an Anti-Home Rule resolution, by 36—31 votes. This is a good lead for Young England to follow.

The Home Rule Issue.

Speaking at Liverpool, Mr. Cherry, the Irish Attorney-General, said:—

“The only remedy (for disorder) was that the responsibility of government should be put on the leaders of the people of Ireland. Unfortunately, the Government had not been able to deal with the question, but he hoped that in the next Parliament the question would be dealt with in a way which would satisfy the aspirations of the people, and without in the least degree endangering the real connection between the two countries.”—*Irish Independent*, March 22.

The remedy would be worse than the disease; but it is useful to have Mr. Cherry's admissions that the Government cannot preserve order, and that they will appeal to the country on the Home Rule issue. What an argument to use, that Home Rule must be granted because justice and order cannot be maintained under the present system of government!

Irish Nationalist Greetings.

In the St. Patrick's Day issue of the *Boston Globe* appear messages and greetings from Irish Nationalists affording interesting reading for Unionists.

Mr. Redmond writes:—

“Home Rule is once more taking a leading place in the political issues of Great Britain, and at by-election after by-election it has

been demonstrated during the past few months that the right of Ireland to rule herself will be in the forefront among the questions which will engage the attention of the electorate at the General Election which, it is very probable, will take place within the next twelve months."

Mr. Redmond unfortunately omits to tell the Boston people that those by-elections have resulted in almost every case in the overwhelming defeat of the Home Rule candidate.

Had he done so it would have been difficult to conclude his message with these words:—

"Our people everywhere the world around should lift up their hearts in confidence and hope at the near and certain approach of the ideal for which they have so long struggled—Irish national self-government."

Of the recent Nationalist Convention Bostonians have the benefit of many opinions. Mr. W. Redmond, M.P., declares it to have been "one of the **most orderly** gatherings" he ever saw! Mr. P. O'Brien, M.P., says that it "afforded an **evidence of self-control and capacity** for self-government which is not often seen even in self-governing countries"!! Mr. Devlin, M.P., describes the refusal to listen to "critics and cranks" as "a triumph of decency in Irish political affairs"!!!

But never a word is said about the bludgeon men. Mr. Devlin is too modest to mention the forethought that made provision for any emergency.

Concerning Home Rule, the messages are positive. Mr. Hayden, M.P., writes:—

"Recent declarations by British Ministers show that the Government has made up its mind that Home Rule **must** be a leading issue at the General Election."

And Mr. W. Redmond, M.P., declares that:—

"Home Rule **holds the field** in British politics."

Unionists will please note.

Mr. Redmond's Threats.

Mr. Redmond, speaking at Liverpool on March 28, was in a very truculent mood. As to the Land Bill, he said:—

"If it does not pass many men in Ireland will console themselves with the reflection that the state of things will become intolerable. The Government of Ireland would become impossible."

Subject to the Bill passing, Mr. Redmond declares "frankly in my judgment the sooner a General Election comes the better." And "unless the leaders put Home Rule in their programme at the next General Election, it will be our duty to advise every son of Ireland in Great Britain to cast his vote against the Liberal candidate."

Mr. Redmond's threats are due to fears of the Liberal Leaguers. He said:—

"I see signs of what I may call the Liberal League members of the Liberal party gathering their forces and endeavouring to get the control of the councils of the party."

He fears apparently a situation like the present :—

“The action of the present Government on the question of Home Rule for Ireland has been a deep disappointment to the Irish people. The extraordinary situation exists that in the House of Commons there is a majority (declared in the division lobby) of nearly 300 in favour of Home Rule for Ireland, and yet the Government will not introduce a Home Rule Bill. They say they are precluded by the pledge of some of their members from doing so.”

Mr. Redmond at the meeting announced the fact that later on he and his party are really going to fight. He said that :—

“The future will witness bitter, uncompromising opposition at the polls at the election, and afterwards on the floor of the House of Commons, to any party in the next Parliament, be it Liberal or Radical, or Socialist or Tory, which does not make Home Rule a leading item in its practical legislative programme.”

Mr. Redmond need not imagine that it will matter in the least what the Liberals or Radicals or Socialists put in their programme. As for the Tories, forewarned is forearmed.

[The extracts from Mr. Redmond's speech are from the report in the *Freeman's Journal* of March 29.]

Yankee Hostility.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., at Liverpool, March 28 :—

“He said this without hesitation and without reserve, that a thorough and complete and really good understanding with the people of the United States was impossible until ten millions at least of men of Irish birth and Irish origin were satisfied that England had removed from her banner the stain and the shame of an ill-governed Ireland.”—*Freeman's Journal*, March 29.

Home Rule is to be the price of Yankee friendship. Mr. T. P. O'Connor is ready to bargain with Yankee support just as he tries to sell the Irish vote in Great Britain to the Liberal Government.

Irish “Loyalty.”

During the debate on the Army (Annual) Bill on April 6, Mr. Hazleton, Nationalist Member for North Galway, moved an amendment to Clause 7, exempting Ireland from the operation of the clause, which deals with billeting in case of emergency.

Mr. HALDANE pointed out that Ireland, in common with the rest of the United Kingdom, might be invaded.

Mr. MACVEAGH : I wish someone would.

Mr. HALDANE said he could not join the hon. Member in that wish.

The “All-for-Ireland” League.

Mr. William O'Brien's new organisation—the “All-for-Ireland” League—held its first demonstration at Kanturk on March 22. Mr. William O'Brien was the principal speaker, and announced his firm intention to die fighting his former colleagues, whom he accused of abdicating in favour of the secret society known as the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Meanwhile, Mr. Redmond, in a circular letter from the House of Commons on March 19, had banned the new League, and a meeting of the Irish Parliamentary party on March 23 passed a solemn resolution denouncing it as "hostile to and intended to be subversive of this pledge-bound party and the United Irish League." The resolution was seconded by Mr. John Roche, Mr. O'Brien's colleague in the representation of Cork City.

Two days later Mr. O'Brien issued the following letter to the people of Cork:—

"FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,—Recent developments, notably the defection of no less than five Cork members of Parliament, including my own colleague in the representation of Cork City, make it impossible for me to continue further to press my views upon a country apparently unwilling or unable to hear me, and I shall vacate my seat in Parliament at once. I have done all that it was perhaps possible for one man to do.

"The masses of the people of the country and City of Cork, I am sure, know how grateful I am for their unchangeable fidelity. I have no reproaches for the poor people of the rest of the country who have been acting in tragic ignorance of what they are doing.

"Your faithful servant,

"WILLIAM O'BRIEN.

"Dublin, March 25."

"Professional Politicians."

From the *Dublin Daily Express* (April 6):—

On his return to Australia, the Most Rev. Dr. Doyle, Roman Catholic Bishop of Lismore, in the course of an interview published in the *Sydney Freeman's Journal*, gave an account of his impressions of Ireland. As to Home Rule, his lordship was afraid that some were trading on the magic words. The majority of the Irish party were, no doubt, earnest, but in the ranks of the party there were, in his lordship's opinion, **professional politicians**. In the matter of Home Rule, some of the party were like the man who looked for work and prayed that he could not get it, and as to the Liberal party, his lordship said if he had a vote he would not give it to them.

An Unrepresentative Body.

Unionists should dispute the assertion advanced by Irish Nationalist M.P.'s that they and the United Irish League can speak for Ireland. There is no justification for this claim. The following evidence from the *Irish Independent* (March 29) will be useful:—

"Whether we take the large centres, the country towns, or the rural districts, we shall find that many places are entirely unorganised, and that where branches do exist in many cases they exist only in name. The reason for the apathy of the people which this state of things betrays is not far to seek. . . In many places the weakness of the organisation is due to its being in the wrong hands; in others it is caused by the jealous rivalry of the public men of the locality

in others it is the result of the movement having been used to further unworthy personal ends. . . The falling off in the contributions to the Parliamentary Fund is an index to the state of feeling in the country. On one Sunday latterly there was more money collected in Dublin and other dioceses for the relief of the sufferers by the Messina earthquake than was contributed to the Parliamentary Fund during a whole year—and this collection, be it noted, was a spontaneous effort. In the old days, as a matter of fact, one county would subscribe more to the Parliamentary movement than all Ireland does to-day.”

A Cher(r)yble View.

Mr. Cherry, the Irish Attorney-General, speaking at Liverpool, said that:—

“There was no more crime, and no more unpunished crime in Ireland than in England and Scotland. He knew Ireland well, and without hesitation he said that as far as two-thirds of the country was concerned, it was never more quiet or more free from crime. In the remaining third, or a portion of it, owing to the agitation about grazing, there had been **some amount** of disorder and agrarian crime **which had not been punished**, but the state of things had been grossly exaggerated.”—*Irish Independent*, March 22.

Mr. Dillon's Pledge.

Speaking in the House of Commons on February 24, Mr. Dillon said of a certain boycotting case:—

“If the facts are as stated by the hon. member for Cambridge (Mr. Butcher), we are ready in the Dublin League to use the whole strength of our organisation to rescue that old lady, but we have never heard anything of the facts.”

With the desire of removing Mr. Dillon's ignorance, and to obtain an authoritative confirmation of the facts, Mr. Butcher, on March 25, asked Mr. Birrell:—

“Whether Mrs. Hall, of Clooney House, Quin, Co. Clare, a lady of nearly 80 years of age, has for some months past been boycotted because she refused to sell her demesne lands, in addition to other lands which she sold to the Estates Commissioners;

“Whether her herd, labourer, and gardener were each ordered to quit her service, and did so;

“Whether her barn was burnt down and her hay destroyed;

“Whether she was obliged to get two men from the Property Defence Association to look after her cattle and sheep;

“Whether seven police have been employed constantly to protect the lives of these men, and of Mrs. Hall herself?”

Mr. Birrell, in his reply, admitted the facts, and added: “The case is a bad one.” Of steps being taken to carry out Mr. Dillon's pledge “to rescue the old lady” he had no knowledge. Now that Mr. Dillon has the facts, he can take immediate action.

What signs of improvement there have been lately, Mr. Birrell attributed to the action of the parish priest in denouncing the burning of the barn.

Irish Disorder.

Return showing, respectively, for each month of 1908, the number of cattle-drives, of cases of firing into houses and at persons, of boycotting (complete and partial), of prosecutions for foregoing offences, of results of prosecutions, of claims for malicious injuries, amount of awards, number of appeals against awards, &c. (*House of Commons Paper*, No. 65, 1909):—

MONTH, 1908.	Cattle-drives.	Firing into Houses and at Persons.	Boycotting.		Number of Prosecutions for foregoing Offences.	Result of Prosecutions.			Number of Claims for Malicious Injuries.		Amount of Awards.	Number of Appeals against Awards.	REMARKS.
			Complete.	Partial.		Number of Convictions.	Number of Dismissals.	Number Bound to keep the Peace, &c.	Granted.	Refused.			
January ..	35	20	5	9	4	1	10	2	75	28	2,441	11	—
February ..	21	8	6	14	6	—	3	22	15	7	1,594	5	—
March ..	57	12	6	13	13	4	16	71	44	10	2,957	9	—
April ..	72	14	15	10	18	2	34	130	51	18	2,024	5	—
May ..	143	8	15	10	37	4	20	518	21	5	716	3	—
June ..	80	12	16	10	23	4	45	156	60	24	1,054	8	One prosecution pending.
July ..	38	12	16	10	6	3	45	—	25	7	476	2	—
August ..	17	14	16	10	8	13	*22	21	11	5	252	—	One prosecution pending. * Bill to be sent up at Assizes against 17 of these.
September ..	42	5	16	11	3	—	5	49	25	3	704	7	—
October ..	44	7	16	11	6	2	3	16	39	5	1,588	13	—
November ..	75	8	15	11	10	9	30	63	29	5	647	4	Two prosecutions pending.
December ..	47	10	15	10	10	—	3	51	13	4	113	1	Three prosecutions pending.
Totals ..	681	130	—	—	144	42	236	1,099	481	155	14,566	68	

The figures in column of prosecutions represent the number of cases; in the following three columns the figures represent the number of persons proceeded against. The total number of cases of boycotting is not given, as the same cases frequently recur during different months.

Boycotting.

The following return, showing the number of persons boycotted in Ireland on 30th November, 1905, and 31st January, 1909, has been issued by Mr. Birrell (*House of Commons Paper*, No. 57, 1909):—

County.	Wholly Boycotted.		Partially Boycotted.		Minor Boycotting.		Total.	
	Nov. 30, 1905.	Jan. 31, 1909.	Nov. 30, 1905.	Jan. 31, 1909.	Nov. 30, 1905.	Jan. 31, 1909.	Nov. 30, 1905.	Jan. 31, 1909.
Cavan ..	—	—	—	—	—	12	—	12
Donegal ..	—	—	—	—	1	3	1	3
Fermanagh ..	—	—	—	—	6	—	6	—
Kilkenny ..	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3
King's ..	—	—	—	—	1	12	1	12
Longford ..	—	15	—	—	—	139	—	154
Meath ..	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	4
Queen's ..	—	—	—	—	—	17	—	17
Westmeath ..	—	32	—	—	—	9	—	41
Wexford ..	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—
Galway—								
E. Riding ..	—	1	—	7	9	90	9	98
W. Riding ..	—	—	—	4	—	42	—	46
Leitrim ..	—	—	—	—	—	62	—	62
Mayo ..	—	—	—	—	—	79	—	79
Roscommon ..	—	—	—	15	3	13	3	28
Sligo ..	—	7	—	—	5	64	5	71
Clare ..	—	—	—	—	7	51	7	51
Cork—								
E. Riding ..	—	—	22	10	16	—	38	10
Kerry ..	—	—	—	—	14	16	14	16
Limerick ..	—	—	7	—	11	10	18	10
Tipperary—								
N. Riding ..	13	3	4	—	23	18	40	21
S. Riding ..	—	123	7	—	12	13	19	136
Total ..	13	181	40	36	109	657	162	874

Agrarian Outrages.

The following return has been issued of agrarian outrages of an indictable character reported throughout Ireland in each of the years 1906—1908 (*House of Commons Paper*, No. 70, 1909):—

Offences.	1906.	1907.	1908.
<i>Offences against the Person.</i>			
Homicide—			
Murder	—	—	1
Firing at the person	3	9	15
Aggravated assault	1	3	5
Assault endangering life	2	3	1
Assault on bailiffs and process servers	1	—	—
Cutting or maiming the person	—	1	—
Other offences	—	1	—
<i>Offences against Property.</i>			
Incendiary fire and arson	47	38	54
Burglary and housebreaking	2	—	1
Robbery	4	7	7
Taking and holding forcible possession	7	2	5
Cattle stealing	—	—	2
Killing, cutting, or maiming cattle	11	16	22
<i>Offences affecting the Public Peace.</i>			
Demand or robbery of arms	—	1	—
Riots and affrays	5	1	13
Threatening letters or notices	105	182	233
Intimidation otherwise	15	17	57
Pound breach	—	1	—
Attacking houses	—	1	—
Resistance to legal process	1	2	—
Injury to property	20	29	89
Firing into dwellings	9	40	66
Rescuing prisoners	—	1	—
Other offences	1	17	4
<i>Other Offences.</i>			
Conspiracy	—	—	1
Totals	234	372	576

Trial by Jury on its own Trial.

Mr. Justice Johnson, concluding his address to the Grand Jury at the Galway Spring Assizes on March 26, said:—

“I come to my last observation. Trial by jury is on its own

trial now in Ireland. In the public Press, in Parliament, in social intercourse, the cry is gone up from some persons that jurors will not do their duty, and will not convict upon the clearest evidence. I can only hope that under the guidance of the Almighty, to whom we are all responsible and to whom each of us has pledged his oath, as we hope for salvation, without fear or favour, the judge and the jury alike, at this Assizes, will honestly, manfully, and independently show by their verdict that they reverence their obligations, and repel those aspersions on their honour."—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 27.

The results of the appeals to juries in the disturbed counties in Ireland at the late Spring Assizes have, as regards the few agrarian cases in which the police have been able to bring forward charges against individuals, been most discouraging.

In the County of Clare, where outrage of a serious type has been prevalent for the past twelve months, there were tried at Assizes four cases in which persons were charged with offences connected with the use of firearms. In all these cases the juries acquitted the prisoners.

In the County of Galway the juries acquitted in two cases of outrage by firearms, and in two other agrarian offences.

In Tipperary and Leitrim there were acquittals in similar cases, and the Crown applied to have four other cases adjourned.

Out of a total of nine cases in which persons were charged with crimes committed by the use of firearms in the Counties of Clare, Galway, Leitrim, and Westmeath, a conviction was obtained in one case only. In the other eight cases the prisoners were acquitted, and cannot again be put on trial. This is, perhaps, the worst record at any Assizes in late years. As a rule, there are found amongst all juries a percentage of conscientious men, who feel constrained to act on the evidence, and the Crown can rely, at least, upon a disagreement in clear cases. The feature of the Summer Assizes in the counties referred to was that there were no disagreements. The juries acquitted without hesitation, entirely regardless of the evidence, or the appeals of the Crown Counsel and the Judges to their conscience and sense of public duty. This is a deplorable state of affairs, which strikes at the root of law and order in any community, and entirely destroys all confidence in the power of the law to protect life and property in the disturbed areas.

Jury men in these districts have, however, something to say in their defence. If, in these districts, a jury dares to find a verdict of guilty in cases of organised crime, the individuals concerned would be marked men, compelled to live in the midst of a disaffected community, uncontrolled by any fear of a weak and discredited administration of the law.

The position, meantime, is grave in the extreme. Mr. Birrell, apparently, is quite determined not to use the one and only remedy which exists. The responsibility rests upon him and his law officers.

State of Co. Galway.

Mr. Justice Johnson, addressing the Grand Jury at the Galway Assizes on March 26, said :—

"Some of the cases, he was sorry to say, were very bad cases, in which the knife had been used. In modern times the use of the

knife had come into practice and the use of the revolver. A few pence would buy a revolver, and one shot would take a man's life. There were two cases in which a revolver had been used. There was also a very serious case of riot and assault, in which four persons were indicted. The men were returning to their employment, and they began to argue, and the argument ended in a tussle. A policeman went forward simply to make peace, with the result that instead of attacking one another they turned on the policeman. A sergeant and two or three constables took the names of these men. The crowd attacked them, and the sergeant was felled by a blow of a spade, which cut through his helmet down into his skull and fractured it. This appeared to his Lordship to be one of the class of cases which brought Ireland into ill-repute. As was stated the other day in a high place in England, the population in that country was independent, courageous, and law-abiding. In Ireland, it was stated in the same high place, every man was against the law. He was not there to moralise, but the sacred bulwark of liberty and the safety of the person and property consisted in the supremacy of the law, honestly, justly, and fearlessly administered. There were also two Whiteboy offences, a class of case which he thought had almost disappeared from the country. One of them assumed the character of firing into a dwelling-house with the intention of hitting the people inside. There was also a case of intimidation, which he thought was a mean and cowardly kind of case, endeavouring to compel a man by fear of the consequences to abstain from doing what he had a legal right to do. That, if carried to its logical conclusion, 'established a reign of terror.'—*Times*, March 27.

Intimidating the Department.

The *Irish Times* (March 29) publishes the following communication from its correspondent at Fethard:—

"Extraordinary scenes were witnessed from the 15th to the 26th instant, at Coolmoyn National School, about four miles distant from Fethard, Co. Tipperary, during the course of a series of lectures, which were delivered by Miss B. A. O'Sullivan, Galway, on the rearing of poultry, &c., under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture. Several persons, attending the 'course,' were subjected to rough treatment, being struck with stones, books, &c. The lectures were otherwise marred by men tapping at the windows and using offensive language. Mr. Quinn, District Councillor for the division, who was one of those attacked, complained to Miss O'Sullivan, but she was powerless to suppress the disorder. Mr. Quinn was struck by a stone. He reported the matter to Mr. Hardy, D.L., R.I.C., Cashel, who sent a patrol. On Friday evening as Mr. Quinn was walking towards the school he was struck by a missile, which knocked him unconscious. It appears that the object of the attack was to prevent the people from attending the lectures."

Arranging a Boycott.

A special meeting of the South King's County Executive of the United Irish League was held in the Catholic Young Men's Society, Birr, yesterday. Mr. Wm. Lowry, Clerk of the Birr Union, presided.

A lengthy and animated discussion took place with reference to a lady who had taken some land.

The Secretary said he had notified her to attend the meeting of the Executive, but she had ignored his letter.

Mr. Murray said she would have to clear out.

Mr. Torpey asked could any member of the League suggest means by which pressure would be brought to bear on the lady in question?

Mr. Murray: "Never fear, we will deal with her."

Secretary: "She has ignored this body altogether."

Eventually it was decided that a deputation from the League visit the lady, and prevail upon her to come to a settlement.—*Irish Times*, March 23.

An Intimidatory Notice.

In a case heard at Ballinamore Quarter Sessions, Co. Leitrim, on March 25, and reported in the *Roscommon Herald* of March 27, in which a number of men were defendants in an action for conspiracy brought by an old man of eighty, evidence was given of the posting of the following notice:—

"ALL PERSONS are strictly warned against having any dealings with the following men.

"Let no man dare to work for them, or give them employment; let them be looked upon and dealt with as supporters of oppression and unjust landlordism. These men are:—

Clements Keernan;

His barriers and spies—black Mick Holohan, John Maloney, and Jas. Maguire.

"All traitors to their country in its fight for justice.

"If this notice be not adhered to strictly, mark the results."

Still the "Hazel."

Speaking at Rathconrath (Co. Westmeath) on March 28, Mr. McKenna, a representative of the Directory of the United Irish League, said:—

"The days of kid-glove politicians had passed. The men they wanted to-day were the stalwart sons of toil, the tenant farmers and labourers—men who were not ashamed or afraid to soil their hands with what had been emblematic of their race, **a good hazel.**"—*Midland Reporter*, April 1.

So the U.I.L. have not dropped the cattle-driving policy.

The Irish Land Bill, 1909.

Mr. Birrell has introduced his new Irish Land Bill. The measure does not differ in principle from the Bill of 1908. Some changes of detail, however, are made, of which the following are the most important:—

(1) The bonus of 12 per cent. is still to apply in various cases where, on or before November 24, 1908, the vendor had taken definite, though not final steps for the sale of his estate.

(2) The new Three Per Cent. Stock may be used for existing as well as future agreements.

(3) A Consultative Committee is established to advise the Department of Agriculture and the Congested Districts Board with regard to the co-ordination of their powers as to fisheries.

(4) The annual sum to be paid to the Department in respect of powers transferred to it from the Congested Districts Board is fixed at £19,000.

(5) The number of paid members of the re-organised Congested Districts Board is increased to two.

(6) The Administrative Committee of the Board which controls its finance is increased by two—the second paid member and an additional elected member.

(7) The Lord Lieutenant is to make regulations (1) as to proceedings and meetings (including quorum) of the Board and Administrative Committee; (2) as to powers and duties of the permanent members.

The Bill is increased from 50 to 65 clauses. In no respect do the changes tend to mitigate Unionist opposition to the measure.

Another Inconsistency.

Mr. T. W. Russell's name appears on the back of Mr. Birrell's Land Bill. One of the principal clauses of Mr. Birrell's Bill compels the landlord who sells under the Bill to take payment in stock instead of cash, as under the Land Act of 1903. Speaking in October, 1905, Mr. T. W. Russell said :—

“Late in last Session the Government proposed to meet this state of affairs (financial difficulties) by a very extraordinary proposal. They proposed, notwithstanding their statutory contract, to pay part of the purchase price of the land in cash and part in depreciated land stock—*i.e.*, to pay half in cash and half in stock, the stock standing at £92 when the proposal was made. He was not concerned to defend the Irish landlords. They were gentlemen very well able to take care of themselves. But in the past they had heard a good deal in this country about the sanctity of contract, and still more about the value of British credit. Now, he was in favour all round of keeping a pledge once it was given, and of not violating any engagement deliberately entered upon. The Government covenanted to pay the landlords in cash. They ought to keep their word; they ought to be made to comply with the contract recorded in the Act of Parliament to which they were a party.”

Mr. Russell went on to assert that “the Government had no right to break a contract in 1905 which it had solemnly entered into in 1903,” and that “the acceptance of the proposals would infallibly have meant that the difference between cash and stock would have had to be made up by the tenant purchasers in all future sales.”

Yet to-day he assents to the breaking of the contract, and is prepared to place this additional burden on the purchasing tenants!

How Disorder Spreads.

The proceedings at a special Court at Elphin on March 24 afford an excellent illustration of the manner in which disorder spreads and persons endeavour to enforce their desires by lawless methods.

One John Hanly went security at a meeting of the Strokestown District Council, on February 23, for a road contractor. This action was not to the taste of certain labourers, who apparently desired that the roads should be attended to by "direct" labour, and themselves employed. Driving home, John Hanly was, therefore, subjected to a fusillade of shouts and groans, and threatened with the boycott.

Such methods of intimidation show the demoralisation established by lax methods of justice.

An Awkward Alternative.

The following pertinent post card, says the *Dublin Daily Express* (March 27), was read at a recent meeting of the Rathdrum Board of Guardians :—

"I see that the Rathdrum Board of Guardians refused to accept the tenders of all English firms who have tendered for years for supplies to the workhouse, although in all cases the English tender was the lowest. Now, to be consistent, the Board ought to recommend all and sundry to refuse to accept old age pensions provided by the hated (and fleeced) English taxpayers.

"Tell your Irish friends to be independent and not to scramble after our silver. But no! You will not do that; independence is not characteristic of Irish methods when the Saxon can be fleeced."

The "Wrong" Righted.

Speaking at Loughnavalley on March 28, Mr. Denis Johnston, Assistant Secretary of the United Irish League, said :—

"He was one of those people who believed they would never get anything from England unless they fight for it. Fortunately for themselves now they had their hand in John Bull's pocket. How long he would allow it to remain there he did not know, but at all events he must allow it to remain there until the Budget is passed. Previous to Old Age Pensions, England had a profit of two millions a year in connection with the bogus administration of justice in this country. **The Old Age Pensions scheme had swept away all that.** The pensioners put their hand in their friend John's pocket."—*Midland Reporter*, April 1.

We could certainly dispute the accuracy of Mr. Johnston's phantom profit of two millions; but we only desire to point out that even he has now no grievance on this point. Mr. Johnston's admission should be remembered in view of the complaints that are sure to be brought forward by Nationalists during the debates on the Budget as to the over-taxation of Ireland.

Hoist with their own Petard.

Irish Nationalists indignantly questioned Mr. Birrell on March 31, because the application of Martin Owens, of Ballykilleen, for an old age pension had been rejected on the ground that in December, 1901, he had been sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment without the option of a fine, under the provisions of the Crimes Act, 1887.

Mr. Redmond demanded that Mr. Birrell should instantly amend the Old Age Pensions Act to exempt from disqualification Irish law-breakers convicted under the Criminal Law and Procedure Act. Mr. Birrell parried the question by pathetically exclaiming that he had enough legislation on his hands already.

Mr. Hayden, for the Irish Nationalists, announced his intention of introducing a Bill without delay to remove the disqualification.

We should not advise him to entertain great hopes of its passing. The House of Commons desires the Old Age Pensions Act extended to many deserving old people who are at present excluded—paupers, for instance—before it would agree preferentially to include Irish law-breakers.

The humour of the situation lies in the fact that if it had not been for the Irish Nationalists and their Liberal allies, Martin Owens to-day would be enjoying his old age pension. The House of Lords extended the imprisonment disqualification to twenty-eight days, and Owens only had fourteen. But the Government in the House of Commons would have nothing to do with this amendment. They claimed "privilege," and the Irish Nationalists supported them in their attitude. Mr. Redmond has only himself to thank, and perhaps he will explain the position to Mr. Owens. But why not give him an old age pension from the League funds? It would be a graceful act and would atone for the sacrifice involved by his leader supporting the Government.

The Law of the League.

From the *Western People* (March 20):—

"STRAIDE BRANCH.—A meeting of the above Branch was held in the League rooms on Sunday, 7th inst., for the purpose, as stated in last issue, of giving chance to the few who were still outside the pale of the U.I.L. to come forward and join; by which means only can we with one voice proclaim our wrongs and demand redress. **They may take this as final notice of invitation; the next will be the publication of the names of all defaulters**—indeed, not creditable to the people of Straide, where much is wanting and expected."

From the *Longford Leader* (March 27):—

"A.O.H., Granard Division (593).—... It was unanimously decided to return the initiating fee to John Kelly (Scrabby Parish) on account of his associating himself with an emergency man, and it is to be trusted that persons of his class shall not again be proposed to be initiated.

"United Irish League—Rathowen Branch.—A special meeting of the above committee was held at Rathaspick on Sunday evening, the 14th inst., Mr. J. Killeen, D.C., President, in the chair. . . **A**

road-maker from Lower Winetown was summoned before the meeting for the third time for drinking with an emergency man, and also upon that occasion with casting reflections on the United Irish League. Mr. Gannon proposed that the road-maker be expelled from the branch, and that his subscription be returned, and said that any person associating with any of the bums were as bad as themselves.

"United Irish League—Killoe Branch.—A meeting of the above branch was held in the League rooms on Sunday last, Mr. J. Duffy, D.C., presiding. After discussing some important matters, it was decided to adjourn the meeting until Sunday next, when a special meeting will be held. Those parties from Upper Killoe who have associated themselves with an emergency man in that district at a recent spree, are requested to attend.

From the *Western People* (March 27):—

"United Irish League—Headford Branch.—A meeting of above was held on Sunday, 14th inst. . . Mr. Michael Nohilly asked the advice of the Branch as to the best course to adopt in connection with the Cordarragh estate. . . In the event of the landlady refusing the tenants' offer, Mr. Nohilly gave notice that at the next meeting of the branch he would propose the expulsion from membership of John Hackett, the herd on the farm."

LIFE IN IRELAND.

A Diary of Outrages, etc., under Radical Rule.

"I am not going to palliate or minimise the deplorable state of things which exists in some parts of Ireland. I and my colleagues would be false to our duty and false to our real opinions if we did anything of the kind. I quite admit that there are going on in some parts of Ireland things which are reprehensible, which ought to be put down, which public opinion ought to condemn, and which, so far as the arm of the law is strong enough to reach them, the arm of the law ought never to be slack in reaching and preventing."—Mr. Asquith, House of Commons February 16.

March 11—Co. Kerry.—About 8 p.m., a farmer named Patrick Fitzmaurice, Caherliheen, was fired at when going towards his house. The police proceeded to the scene, and found the hall door riddled with shot.—*Irish Times*, March 12.

March 12—Co. Roscommon.—A daring outrage occurred at the village of Tournamacnevin, about 8 p.m., an attack being made on the dwelling-house of Patsy Burke, a number of shots being fired into it. The victim of the outrage, it is alleged, bought a cow from Mr. Persse, of Roxboro', a few days ago.—*Connacht Champion*, March 13.

March 16—Co. Roscommon.—At the Athlone Quarter Sessions a process server, when being questioned why he had failed to serve notices, complained that in one place a number of people assembled near a house and covered him with lime.—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 17.

March 18—Co. Roscommon.—At Elphin Petty Sessions a man named Patrick Bierne was charged with intimidating one Martin Moran, at Cloonrath, on September 20, 1908. He was bound over to keep the peace.—*Roscommon Messenger*, March 20.

March 18—Co. Cork.—At the Cork Assizes, William Kirke was charged with wounding Police Constable Sullivan, at Ballycotton, in December last. Mr. Justice Dodd, in summing up, said that in his opinion the evidence was clear, and if the jury hesitated about their verdict, they would be guilty of violation of their oaths. The jury disagreed after being sent back twice, and the prisoner was put back.

On the previous day the judge discharged a jury sworn to try the

same case on a remark being made by one of the jurors that he would not convict the prisoner.—*Irish Independent*, March 20.

March 21—Co. Galway.—In connection with the Craughwell murder (see IRISH FACTS, January 22) five men were arrested and detained at the police barracks. In the meantime, a man arrived from Ballinasloe under a heavy escort of police to identify the prisoners. He placed his hand upon two of them, named Michael Dermody and Thomas Hynes (the latter had been previously arrested for the offence and discharged, see IRISH FACTS, February 26). The two men identified were conveyed to Galway after being brought before a magistrate and remanded, the remaining three being discharged.—*Irish Times*, March 23.

March 21—Co. Westmeath.—Four men were arrested in the act of driving off twenty head of cattle from the lands of Mr. Hugh O'Neill, J.P. The accused were conveyed to Mullingar, and brought before a magistrate. On refusing to give bail, they were sentenced to two months' imprisonment.—*Irish Times*, March 23.

March 22—Co. Galway.—About 6.30 a.m., some hundred sheep, cattle and horses, the property of a man named M'Cormachan, of Clarenbridge, were driven off a farm at a place called Dooras.—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 23.

March 22—King's County.—At a meeting of the South King's County Executive U.I.L., a resolution was adopted calling upon the U.I.L. branches to push forward the agitation against the eleven months' system by the "persistent use of the hazel" and otherwise.—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 23.

March 23—Co. Kerry.—Michael Sheehan, Catherine Sheehan, and Edward Price were arrested and brought before a magistrate at Killarney, for having assaulted one John Lynch at Laccabane on March 13. John Lynch, the injured man, deposed that he was returning from Killarney with his wife in a pony and trap when he met the prisoners in another cart on the road, which was in such a position as to prevent him from passing it. He asked the defendants to let him pass, when one of them said, "You are a grabber, and a backer of grabbers." He was then pulled out of the cart on to the ground and kicked on the right side of the head, two of the defendants threw themselves on him and beat him with their fists, he received a kick over the heart, and became unconscious. The prisoners were remanded.

The cause of the attack is attributed to the fact that a brother of the injured man did some ploughing on a disputed farm.—*Kerry Sentinel*, March 30.

March 24—Co. Roscommon.—At Elphin Petty Sessions, nine men were charged with intimidation towards Mr. J. Hanley, of Ardnagown, on January 23. One of the defendants was discharged, the remainder being bound over to be of good behaviour.—*Roscommon Herald*, March 27.

March 27—Co. Tipperary.—At Nenagh Petty Sessions, Michael and Sarah Conway, husband and wife, and their two sons and two daughters, were charged with assaulting a man named Breslane, at Toomevara. A few days ago the defendants held up the village by attacking Breslane with sticks and stones, and the three policemen stationed there were com-

pelled to put Breslane into a house for safety, and send for the Roman Catholic clergy to put an end to the disturbance. The defendants surrounded the house, and Breslane, in attempting to leave it, was badly injured, Conway at the same time shouting, "We want our land or your life." The priests on arrival restored order. In the course of the hearing, Conway, the husband, admitted that he had murderous intentions. The three men were sentenced to two months' imprisonment with hard labour, and to find bail for future good behaviour. The case against the female defendants was adjourned for six months.—*Northern Whig*, March 29.

March 27—Co. Westmeath.—At Kilbeggan Petty Sessions, five men were charged with driving cattle off the lands of Mr. Hugh Cullen, near Horsleap. The case was adjourned.—*Northern Whig*, March 29.

March 27—Co. Wexford.—A dastardly outrage in connection with the last meet of the Wexford fox-hounds occurred near Ballinavarry. After a good run the M.F.H. noticed that several hounds had become faint, and on closer examination it was discovered that they were poisoned, and three of the animals died. It was subsequently found that a large quantity of deadly poison had been placed on the lands.—*Dublin Daily Express*, March 29.

March 27—Co. Cork.—Between 3 and 4 a.m., five panes of glass in the business premises of Mr. I. J. Savage, Kinsale, were broken in by stones, and later a coffin-shaped box was found at the door having a notice attached, bearing the words, "Remember what you are about, you grabber." About the same time a horse, the property of a Mr. Tyner, was shot at and wounded at Brown's Mills. It appears that Mr. Savage had acquired the interest in Brown's Mills on its vacation by a Mr. Crowley. Some years ago a man named John Roche was evicted from this house, and some of the persons locally had hopes that he would be reinstated, and the disappointment incurred their displeasure. The horse when shot was removing Crowley's furniture.—*Irish Independent*, March 29.

March 30—Co. Tipperary.—At Cashel Petty Sessions, a farmer named Patrick Foely was charged with having maliciously injured a gate and fence at Attyhill, the property of a Mrs. Isabella Loney. Evidence was given that Mrs. Loney recently came into possession of some lands, part of which was let for grazing, and since then the damage had been done. The police took plaster casts of the foot-prints near the fence, and they corresponded with the boots worn by defendant. The accused was returned for trial.—*Irish Times*, March 31.

March 30—Co. Donegal.—At the Donegal Quarter Sessions, Mary Maguire was indicted for assaulting Frank Cunningham, a process server, on December 16 last. Evidence was given that Cunningham went to serve Bills on that date, and when near prisoner's house he was surrounded by a crowd, who knocked him down. The accused, he alleged, took the Bills from him. Medical evidence was also given that he had been treated for a broken rib and contusions. The jury failed to agree, and the case was put back for the Summer Assizes.—*Irish Independent*, April 1.

April 2—Co. Monaghan.—At Carrickmacross Petty Sessions, Patrick McDonald and John Lewis were charged with riotous behaviour and intimidation at Drumturk, on March 23. They were bound over to keep the peace.—*Dublin Daily Express*, April 5.

April 2—Co. Tipperary.—The town of Thurles was again in a state of great disorder. About 7 p.m. a crowd assembled carrying torches and ringing bells, and marched towards the square. A house from which a tenant was recently evicted was wrecked, the window frames, doors, and gates being smashed, and the police had considerable difficulty in breaking up the procession. Several summonses have been issued.—*Dublin Daily Express*, April 3.

April 3—In connection with the above disturbances eight youths were charged at the local Petty Sessions with riotous conduct, four were fined 10s. each, one £1, and the remainder remanded on bail for a week. Four of the youths refused to pay the fine, and were conveyed to prison for one week.—*Irish Times*, April 5.

April 7—Co. Tipperary.—Two men named Thomas Doyle and James Kearney were charged at Thurles with participating in the intimidation demonstrations about Mr. Clarke's estate in November last (see IRISH FACTS, November 23, 1908). They were bound over to be of good behaviour, or in default two months' imprisonment. Doyle declined to give bail, and was committed to prison.—*Irish Times*, April 8.

April 7—Co. Waterford.—An extensive cattle-drive took place on a farm at Fenore, from which a tenant was recently evicted. The cattle were afterwards recovered by the police.—*Dublin Daily Express*, April 8.

April 8—Co. Kerry.—A process server named Daniel Dineen was serving Bills at a place called Renasup, on the Kenmare estate, when he was met by three disguised men, who demanded the rent processes from him; he gave them up, and afterwards reported the matter to the police.—*Dublin Daily Express*, April 14.

April 12—Co. Roscommon.—Twenty-two head of cattle, the property of Mr. C. M. O'Connor, of Mountdruid, had their tails cut off during the night. Mr. O'Connor recently sold some property under the Land Act, but retained some grass land, and the tenantry were disappointed that this land was not included.—*The Times*, April 14.

April 13—Co. Waterford.—At a Special Court three men were charged with having driven cattle off the lands of Whitepark, owned by a Mr. William Casey, on March 22 last. The defendants were ordered to give bail, or in default two months' imprisonment. Two of the defendants refused to give the necessary sureties, and were committed to prison.—*Irish Times*, April 15.

April 19—Co. Sligo.—In the early hours of the morning six horses were driven off some grazing lands belonging to a Mr. Spellman, and were found later in the day about five miles distant.—*Irish Times*, April 20.

April 19—Co. Galway.—The two men arrested and charged with the murder of the late Constable Goldrick (see IRISH FACTS, March 21) were again brought up, and after evidence was taken were further remanded.—*Irish Times*, April 20.

April 20—Co. Waterford.—At a Special Court, held at Tranmore, a man named Patrick Haley was charged with having circulated certain notices on April 12, calling upon tradesmen and others not to help one Robert Vettie, and threatening them if they in any way helped him. The case was adjourned.—*Belfast News Letter*, April 21.

THE COLONIAL 'ARGUMENT.

"Behold," says every Home Rule orator, "what the grant of self-government has done for Britain's Colonies. From being weak it has made them strong; from being discontented it has made them loyal; from being a drain on the Mother State they have become willing helpers in time of need. Give Ireland self-government too, and you will achieve the same glorious results." This is the Colonial argument for Home Rule, which is never absent from any speech delivered on British platforms. In Ireland and America, indeed, it is less extensively, perhaps never, employed. The Irishman is never exhorted to seek for legislative independence in order that his loyalty to Britain may be quickened and his ability to help her enhanced. To them, other, and widely different, motives and objects are suggested, but before the mere Britisher the Colonial argument is continually dangled, sometimes on the exordium of a speech, sometimes in the peroration, but always as an irrefutable example of what would occur in Ireland. And, it must be confessed, whether at the beginning of a speech, to create a favourable prejudice, or at the end, to leave a pleasing impression, it is an argument both telling and attractive. It lends itself to a good deal of flowery rhetoric; its main defect is that it is only suitable for occasions when reply is not possible. For, as we propose to point out, it is not strictly accurate historically; in so far as it is historically true, the difference of conditions forbid the application of the parallel to Ireland; while other conditions intervene to make the extension of the Colonial system to Ireland impossible.

The grant of self-government does not necessarily create loyalty. Mr. Gladstone cited the cases of Norway-Sweden and Austria-Hungary in proof of the opposite theory, but events have signally destroyed his argument. Even in the case of the British Empire the Home Rule argument is not quite true. Canada and South Africa are the cases cited. But even in Canada, which is probably the strongest instance, there has been at least one rebellion since autonomy was conceded. And it is to be remembered that in Canada the alien and disaffected population formed a minority of the people. Still, it may be admitted that the enfranchisement of Canada was a wise measure, which has produced admirable results. In South Africa the Home Rule argument is infinitely weaker. The first result of the grant of self-government to Cape Colony in 1872 was to call into existence racial animosities and to develop disloyal sentiments which had been buried for half a century. It was not the annexation of the Transvaal which excited those sentiments. Thirty years before England had annexed the Orange Free State, with the approval of the Dutch, and relinquished it to their regret. Even before the annexation of the Transvaal, Dutch disaffection and racial cleavage manifested themselves as the result of the grant of Home Rule. To adduce the case of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, as is done, is to ignore facts, or to strain them. Self-government was not given to these Colonies as an expedient, but in conformity with the articles of the Convention of Vereeniging. That one step in political evolution provided in these articles was passed over was not because the Dutch were disloyal and had to be appeased, but because they professed their loyalty, and

it was held that they should be rewarded. South Africa, therefore, is a singularly unfortunate instance. In the new Colonies autonomy was not given to remedy disaffection; in the Cape it evoked expressions of disaffection. Nay, it did more. For although the Dutch leaders pointed out his folly to President Kruger, they rose against the British when his obstinacy had precipitated war.

But, not to press these considerations too far, let us agree that, taken all round, the results of granting autonomy to the Colonies have been successful. We can go even further, and assert that it would have been impossible to refuse it, without progressing far towards the corollary that Ireland should have it. Consider the position of those Colonies, separated from the Mother Country by expanses of time and space, considerable even now and enormous fifty years ago, governed from vast distances by men entirely unacquainted with their special conditions, who could only hear of events weeks or months after they had occurred, and whose decisions would arrive when the events that required them were half forgotten. Consider, too, that the Colonists had practically no share nor voice in the government, either in their own Colonies or in London. Compare their position with that of Ireland, within as easy reach of London as Northumberland, whose problems and phenomena are familiar by propinquity, and not greatly dissimilar in kind to ours; and whose people have full, and over full, representation in the Imperial Parliament.

Space is, indeed, the essential factor in the decision of this question. The interests of Great Britain and her Colonies are distinguished and segregated by distance; those of Great Britain and Ireland are inextricably intertwined by neighbourhood. The present Lord Chancellor, then Mr. R. T. Reid, well expressed this idea in the *Contemporary Review* of April, 1892:—

“Colonies have a modern, Ireland a most ancient hold upon our interests. Colonies have their own laws and customs, their own problems and difficulties, a different climate, strange neighbours, and sometimes an almost cosmopolitan population; Ireland resembles us in laws, and largely in manners, has kindred problems, a similar climate, the same neighbours, and a population wholly European, of which every racial blend has its counterpart within England and Scotland. Alike from historical, geographical, and racial causes, our relations with Ireland must be different from our relations to any Colony. This conviction is universal.”

That the conviction described by Mr. Reid as universal 17 years ago is not universal now must be ascribed to a certain looseness of thought, which confuses the apparent with the real, and allows superficial similarities to obscure essential differences. Now, we cannot afford to reason loosely in this connection; the importance of the issues demands the utmost precision of thought, which is not to be reached through rhetorical generalities, but by analytical processes.

The grant of Colonial autonomy confers on the Colony financial independence. It can raise its revenue as seems best to it, and adopt any fiscal system it pleases. It can impose any duties it likes on British goods, and British trade is only affected thereby as it would be affected

by Spanish, or Italian, or American tariffs. But if Ireland could do the same, British commerce would be, not handicapped, but dislocated, so closely are the commercial interests interlaced. For this reason it is proposed that Ireland should not have the control of the Customs. Again, the self-governing Colony has an independent military system. It can, and does, establish universal military training, it might adopt conscription, it can create a separate Navy. The mere suggestion that Ireland should have a similar power demonstrates the faultiness of the parallel it is sought to establish between her and the Colonies. Canada claims, and is allowed, the right of negotiating directly in commercial matters with foreign Powers; no one will suggest that a similar power could be given to Ireland, not because Ireland would be certain to abuse it—but simply because the entanglement of British and Irish commerce makes it impossible. But the most fatal test of the fallacy of the Colonial parallel is to be found if we consider the case of separation. Suppose Australia “cut the painter.” It would cause Britain a little pang, it would be a sore blow to wounded pride and affection, it would mean a certain loss of strength and a greater loss of prestige. But it would not be fatal; it would not compromise our strategical position; possibly the cold-blooded strategist might console himself by the reflection that it narrowed the field of operations and allowed of concentration. But suppose Ireland issued a Declaration of Independence, and that a new State were established upon Britain’s flank. Such a State might raise its own Army, might bring in reinforcements from America, might place its harbours at the disposition of a foreign enemy. The remote result might be the ruin of Britain, the immediate and certain result would be a revolution in our military system and in our naval strategy. Captain Mahan’s disquisition on the results to Britain of an independent Ireland are worthy of close attention. It would be possible to multiply and elaborate arguments; but the tests we have cited, applied in analysis of the Colonial argument, are sufficient to show how hollow and fallacious it is.

But, says the Home Ruler, we will not ask for these things. We will not demand the control of the Customs, nor the right to a separate military system. Then, we reply, what becomes of the Colonial argument? It is not the mere form of government which makes the autonomous State but the powers which that government wields. If Ireland is not to have the same power of self-government that Australia and Africa and Canada possess, it is idle to tell us that, because they are contented, she will be contented too. Nationalists cannot demand Colonial autonomy as the irreducible minimum of their claim, and in the next breath consent to the excision of the two essential elements of autonomy—the power of raising revenue and the power of self-defence—at least they cannot do so with the smallest hope that we shall believe them.

THE SECRET DANGER.

THE ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS.

The proceedings in the Dublin Police Courts, resulting from the scenes which took place at the late "National Convention," have drawn public attention to the extraordinary position which the Ancient Order of Hibernians has lately assumed in Irish political matters. This secret organisation has now spread over quite one half of the Irish counties, and is still steadily pushing its way amongst the Irish Roman Catholic youth of the country. Its traditions descend from the bitterest foes of British rule in Ireland and from the deadliest enemies to the existence of Protestants or the Protestant religion in the country. It makes no pretence of conciliation or compromise. Its principles are "Ireland a Nation" separate and distinct from England, and "the complete supremacy of the Roman Catholic religion in this nation." In its organisation there is no room for argument or discussion; the members are rigidly bound together by a secret pledge to obey the orders of its wire-pullers in matters of politics; and in this respect it has, from the agitator's point of view, an enormous advantage over the United Irish League, which has a more elastic bond of union, so that the various branches have always been difficult to hold together on any one distinct line of political action.

It is only within the past five years that the Hibernian Society has come so prominently to the front. It was always banned as a secret society by the Roman Catholic Church until the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops at a historic meeting at Maynooth, for some reason best known to themselves, removed the ban, and recognised the organisation as one to be encouraged and supported. It was this action of the Roman Hierarchy which gave the fillip to the Society which has led to its remarkable and continued spread over the country.

The astute wire-pullers of the United Irish League were not slow to recognise the enormous increase of their hold over the people which would result if they could secure the control of this pledge-bound body. Backed by a large section of the Roman clergy of the northern counties, the League branches slowly became identified with the Ancient Order of Hibernians. The prominent leaders in the United Irish League captured the chief positions in the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and, at the present moment, it is difficult to decide whether, over a large portion of Ireland, the United Irish League is merely an adjunct of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, or whether the reverse is the actual state of affairs. It is certain that, so far as the Irish party, led by Mr. John Redmond in the United Irish League, is concerned, they are, for all practical purposes, part and parcel of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. The same persons hold leading official positions in both organisations, and there can be no manner of

doubt that this most baneful coalition is fraught with danger to the future peace of Ireland. Wherefore, all hope of any reasonable settlement of social or political questions which do not involve the complete spoliation of landlords, and the total separation of Ireland from England, is very gravely endangered, whether such a settlement be attempted by a Unionist or a Radical Administration.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians boasts that between Ireland and Scotland it includes in its ranks about 100,000 members. It is closely allied to a still more formidable organisation under the same name in America which is in entire sympathy with the Home body in its antagonism to all British interests. This American body has concluded an alliance with the German American Society in the United States, with the avowed object of thwarting all British interests in America and affording aid to the enemies of Britain in case of war.

A very grave feature in the present coalition of Mr. Redmond's League and the Ancient Order of Hibernians lies in the fact that the latter body, while firmly adhering to its original principles of complete separation from England and the destruction of Protestantism in Ireland, is, by its rules, bound to make use of the U.I.L., or any similar organisation, only so far and so long as it carries the Hibernians on the road to their ultimate goal. If, at any time, the Leaguers concluded a bargain with the British Government as to a form of Home Rule which would entail the supremacy of England, the Ancient Order of Hibernians would at once break away from its colleagues, repudiate any such arrangement, and use its power both of intimidation and otherwise to render such a settlement impossible.

It is certain that the more moderate Leaguers and the wiser members of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy have already recognised the danger which is to be anticipated from the alliance between the Home Rule party and the Ancient Order of Hibernians. They are held together by a common purpose in their hatred of England and determination to drive loyal English subjects out of Ireland. They are prepared to act conjointly or separately as occasion may demand for these objects. If either party departs from this understanding, or is driven from its position, whether by internal dissensions or by outside compulsion, the other is prepared to take its place until the final object of both is attained.

We have, in this formidable combination, an excellent example of the continuity of all Irish agitation since the days of the Fenian insurrection. The Land League had behind it in Ireland the secret organisation of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and in America the support of the parent body in the Clan Na Gael. The Irish Republican Brotherhood has ceased to exist in Ireland as an organised institution, and in America the Clan Na Gael has broken away from its connection with the League. Under these circumstances, the Parliamentarians have fallen back upon the Ancient Order of Hibernians as the most useful successor to the Fenian body in carrying out the old policy of coercion, intimidation, and spoliation, as agents to pave the way for Irish independence.

History will accord to the Fenian conspirators a certain tribute of respect for the manliness of their ideas, however absurd and impracticable they might have been. There is no such tribute to be paid to the methods

or principles of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Its policy is founded on narrow-minded bigotry, based on sectarian hatred and antiquated traditions of internecine war in Ireland.

The fact that Mr. John Redmond, while posing in England as the leader of a constitutional party anxious for a peaceful settlement of the Home Rule question, finds it necessary to join forces in Ireland with a body like the Ancient Order of Hibernians, is in itself sufficient to throw grave suspicion on the honesty of his protestations on English platforms.

The British nation must never consent to place British subjects in Ireland at the mercy of a secret organisation like the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

LIFE IN WEST MEATH.

LIFE in a boycotted household is a singular experience for one unused to the vicissitudes of Ireland under the present Government. I have been staying for the week-end at the house of Mr. R. H. Bond, a notable victim of the United Irish League's persecutions, and the circumstances of his life here at Fairyhall are still such as one would expect only in a savage country in time of war. Indeed, in a land admittedly one of the least civilised in the world, I have observed fewer precautions against attack than in this county of West Meath, within twelve hours' journey of Westminster.

We were hooted and groaned at as we drove from the station to the house. The windows of the house I found on my arrival to be shuttered with iron, lest a bullet should come amongst us as we sat at dinner. I had already learned that it is the custom in this country to go about armed, so was not greatly surprised to find that my host and a friend who dropped in during the evening both carried loaded revolvers. The house and grounds are garrisoned with police. The servants went to Mass this morning under an armed guard; my host and I were similarly escorted to and from divine service, and when we potted about the grounds in the afternoon a constable with a rifle slung at his back followed us about wherever we went. I know to what shifts my host was put to obtain meat and fish, and I know, but must not tell, lest those who sent it suffer, by what circuitous routes it reached the table. Now this mighty inconvenient state of things would annoy, but it would not surprise one, in some such wild country as Afghanistan or Morocco; but in the county of West Meath, under an enlightened Liberal Government and the administration of no less an ornament to Western civilisation than Mr. Augustine Birrell, it is both annoying and astonishing.

The case of the boycotting of Mr. R. H. Bond, of Fairyhall, is a peculiarly interesting one. Not the least important feature is this, that from his individual case no less than 34 others have arisen. This is a striking instance of the widespread effect of boycotting. In striking at one man the United Irish League has afflicted 35 individuals in all. Everyone who has stood by Mr. Bond in any way has come under the ban of his enemies. His servants have been harassed and persecuted remorselessly. Mr. James Killeen, president of the local branch of the League, has suffered two months' imprisonment for his activities in that particular direction. It was this zealous gentleman's custom to collect crowds behind Mr. Bond's servant girls on their way to and from chapel, and to pursue them with hootings and abominable insults. The girls were also pelted with mud and rotten eggs. A letter received by one of them at the beginning of the trouble says: "You must be aware that Mr. Bond is boycotted for serving writs on the tenants," and goes on to threaten every insult and annoyance should the recipient of the letter continue in Mr. Bond's service. Threatening letters were also sent to all the shopkeepers in the neighbouring villages of Rathowen, Ballinalack, and Rathaspic, forbidding them to serve Mr. Bond or his servants.

Now, in face of this enmity, and of much more which remains to be told, one would expect to find that Mr. Bond had committed, at the very least, some serious offence against the community. Inquiry shows, however, that the head and front of his offence was that he took action against three tenants of the Corry Estate, for which he is agent. The tenants on this estate had formed a Defence Fund, and banded themselves together to refuse to pay all rents. Mr. Bond consequently served writs upon three of them in the ordinary course, hence the treatment to which he has been subjected.

Not content with abusing and pelting the servants of the boycotted man, the League contrived that three families, numbering 17 persons in all, should be turned out of their homes for adherence to his cause. They had inhabited Union Cottages, over which the Rural District Council had rights of eviction. As the Council numbered many members of the League, it was easy for them to bring about the eviction of these families, for whom it fell to Mr. Bond's lot to provide.

The League's hostility to himself was manifested in the usual way, with one or two exceptional features. His cattle were, of course, driven, but as he obtained £1 per head compensation, the League found little satisfaction in that. To the shouting, bottle-blowing, and hooting that greets his appearance abroad I can testify, having been subjected to it myself when in his company, and, as I say, he has to be constantly guarded. On one occasion, despite the guard about his house, a mob of cattle was driven through the police cordon, in at his garden gates, and over his tennis lawns, followed by about 30 rioters. The authorities took no action and no one was punished, although several of the parties were known. At another time the police surprised a gang in the act of pulling down about 40 yards of wall on the estate. Fourteen persons were sent to prison for this, but it was as the result of a private, not a Government, prosecution. The Government ignored the affair.

Now, in the thinly populated area which has been the scene of all these disturbances, the normal police force consisted of a sergeant and four men. At present it consists of two sergeants, one acting-sergeant, and 14 constables. On certain occasions, such as League meetings, which have been almost invariably followed by a riotous demonstration in front of Mr. Bond's house, 60 or 70 police have been found by no means too many to prevent a serious outbreak.

In addition to boycotting him for serving writs upon tenants on the Corry Estate, the League demanded of Mr. Bond that he should give up certain land which he holds at Cauraun, hard by. This, of course, is in accord with the customs of the League, but it is particularly unfortunate that the request should have been made in this instance, for I find on investigation that Mr. James Killeen, to whom I have already referred as president of the local branch of the League, owns two farms himself, one of which has been actually let upon the eleven months' system to which the League professes to object so conscientiously.

Mr. Gannon, vice-president of the local branch, until recently owned a farm in Co. Longford. Presumably he could not, or would not, work it; at all events, he certainly sold it, and is now, as we see, a leader of the agitation for more land!

Practically the whole of the upheaval that is at present filling Ireland with cases like that of my present host can be traced to the machinations of idle and worthless fellows who find it easier and pleasanter to agitate for more land than to till that which they have. The peasantry are easily led, and when they find that they can break the law with impunity it is hardly to be wondered at that they continue to do so.

After all, they have a pleasant prospect before them. They hope, not without good grounds, that they will sooner or later succeed in sharing amongst themselves the grazing lands which are at present in the hands of persons who have either inherited or earned the money to buy them. And when they get these "ranches" every peasant will be a "gentleman." That is, instead of working on the land, he will let it for grazing, or sell it, pocket the profits, and agitate afresh for its restoration.

ALAN OSTLER.

IRISH DIARY.

1909.

March 30.—Second reading of Irish Land Bill in House of Commons. Rejection moved by Mr. J. H. Campbell. Speeches by Mr. Birrell, Mr. J. Redmond, Mr. Lonsdale, and Mr. R. Barry.

March 31.—Debate on Land Bill resumed. Speeches by Mr. R. Barry, Mr. Wyndham, Mr. T. M. Healy, Sir E. Carson, Mr. Cherry.

April 4.—Mr. J. Devlin, M.P., at Limerick Junction.

April 14.—Mr. J. Devlin, M.P., at Newry.

April 15.—Lord Londonderry, at Newtownards.

April 18.—Mr. J. Dillon, at Thurles.

April 20.—Mr. J. Redmond, at Dublin.

April 23.—Annual Meeting of Irish Unionist Alliance at Dublin. Speeches by Lord Barrymore, Lord Farnham, and Mr. J. H. Campbell.

April 26.—Mr. J. Devlin, M.P., at Paisley.

IRISH FACTS.

JUNE, 1909.

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IRISH FACTS.

Vol. 3.—No. 6.]

JUNE, 1909.

CURRENT NOTES.

Irish Affairs to the Fore.

Notwithstanding the Budget and the Navy, Unionists have no intention of allowing Irish affairs to get into the background. The case against the Government is too serious for that.

Lord Lansdowne, in the course of his speech at the Liberal Union Club at the Hotel Cecil on May 3, said :—

“I take the question of Home Rule. Is it not abundantly clear to every one of us that at the next general election the question of Home Rule will again be brought to the front? Ministers themselves do not care to deny that. Their Nationalist supporters openly boast that any future Liberal Government will have to toe the line on that point, and toe the line they will. In the meantime the position is being prepared by the manner in which Ireland is being governed at the present moment. Law and order are set at nought. Honest men are not permitted to follow their vocations; the great settlement of the land question, for which we are indebted to the late Chief Secretary, Mr. George Wyndham, is to be put into the melting pot—a settlement which, if it can be said to have failed, has failed only because of the unexpected measure of success which it obtained.”
—*Times*, May 4.

The Chancellor of the Primrose League (Sir R. Gresley), at the annual meeting, said :—

“Our motto, as you know, is ‘Imperium et libertas,’ and certainly at this time both our Empire and liberties are threatened. It (the Government) also threatens us by the weak action of the Executive in the part of our Kingdom which lies at our gate, where Mr. Birrell has shown us a spectacle of criminal ineptitude in dealing with crime which I believe is without parallel in the history of the country. Ireland is rapidly becoming a perfect hotbed of treason and anarchy. Can you wonder at it? Could they be surprised that the law was not respected when the law-makers were openly bidding for the votes of the law-breakers? Four years ago Ireland was fairly contented, and the law was everywhere respected. Now it was a standing menace and a national danger.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 7.

Speaking at the annual meeting of the Association of Conservative Clubs, on May 17, Lord Cawdor said :—

“What they claimed from a Government was that it should maintain absolutely law and order in every part of the country. . . . It was impossible to exaggerate the condition of things which existed in Ireland. The law which governed Ireland to-day was not the law of this country, but the law established by an association which was built up chiefly to defeat the law of the land. There was not a small place in Ireland where rifles could not be bought for so much a week, with the result that the use of firearms in that country was increasing by leaps and bounds, and those firearms were used for terrorising people who wished to obey the law. If the test was put to the Government as to the maintenance of law and order, it would be found that they had failed absolutely and signally to do their duty.”—*Belfast News Letter*, May 18.

Irish Disloyalty.

The London Branches of the United Irish League have demanded the withdrawal of Irish children from Roman Catholic Schools in the Metropolis on Empire Day. In London Schools on Empire Day the pupils of all denominations assemble in the playgrounds, salute the Union Jack, and sing the National Anthem. This has aroused the anger of the Leaguers, and they unanimously protest against the children of Irish parents honouring “a flag that has been associated with the devastation of their country and the suppression of liberty.”

The *Belfast News Letter* (April 21), commenting on this, says :—

“Such a marked act of disrespect to the flag on the part of Irish Nationalists as is now suggested by the U.I.L. Conference will help to convince the people of London that the fears expressed by Ulster Unionists of the effect of League Rule are founded on something more than mere prejudice.”

Real Fighting this time?

Mr. Lloyd George's Budget proposals have so aroused Mr. Redmond's anger that he announced the determination of the Irish Home Rulers to “oppose it on every possible occasion” (House of Commons, April 29).

It must be irritating to Mr. Birrell to find three years of work to placate the Nationalists, during which he has earned the scorn of all law-abiding citizens, thrown away in a few moments by his colleague, Mr. Lloyd George.

Of course it may be, as on so many other occasions, that this opposition will only be sham fighting, a demonstration for the sake of showing Irish Nationalist constituents how “independent” the Irish Parliamentary Party can be when no harm to the Liberal Government is likely to come of it. On the other hand, for reasons given by the *Morning Post's* special correspondent (May 2), there seems to be every possibility that the Irish Nationalists have a real quarrel this time with their allies. He says :—

“It is clear that the Irish Nationalist Party is preparing to offer a determined resistance to the Budget. Its members are affected through their constituents in a way unknown elsewhere. They

depend on the League. The League depends on the priests. The priests depend on the publican to work the League under their direction; and a gombeen publican can be relied on to 'bring in' the peasant victims who are in his books. . . They can follow Mr. Asquith until his Chancellor attacks their own alcoholic constituents, and then Mr. Redmond offers 'the most vigorous opposition at every opportunity.' It appears that the Nationalist loyalty to Liberalism could be shaken only by drink."

Commenting on the Budget, the *Freeman's Journal* (April 30) says:—

"The Whiskey and Tobacco Duties are designedly and specially aimed at Ireland. They are the Treasury device to get even with Ireland for her crime in having so many poor with rights, and to fend off the difficulty into which British management of Irish finance has brought the British Government of this country—the difficulty of facing a permanent deficit of Irish revenue. The Old Age Pensions Scheme wiped out the Irish tribute. The new taxes reimpose it. The extent of the imposition is disguised in the estimate. Mr. Redmond and his Party will fight the imposition every inch of the road. Resistance is a duty. The Budget raises the financial grievance of Ireland to its old dimensions, or rather intensifies that grievance—for the grievance is only half defined when the excess of taxation is mentioned, and the most serious element is forgotten when the fact is ignored that taxation in Ireland long ago reached a figure inconsistent with progress, and that every addition to taxation means trenching upon the subsistence fund and the employment fund of the nation."

Said Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., at a meeting of protest at Dundalk on May 7:—

"The effect of the new system that Lloyd George was starting would be to turn the hearts and minds of Irishmen into some other channel, and make them welcome relief from any quarter, even if it came from the House of Lords. Hitherto they had always looked on the House of Lords as the chamber of oppression; now they were beginning to think that it was the House of Commons that was playing that part, and if there was no means of getting redress for Ireland except through the House of Lords, all he would say was this, that he would prefer the House of Lords to the House of Commons. He warned the Government that the Irish people were not going to be mealy-mouthed. If they were not going to get Home Rule from the Liberals, and only taxation, he would say that even if the Tories did not give them Home Rule they might give them a little less taxation."—*Irish Times*, May 8.

While Mr. Lloyd George has undone all Mr. Birrell's work of conciliating the Home Rulers, Mr. Redmond's position has not been made easier. There are critics in Ireland asking what the Liberal-Nationalist alliance is worth, when Mr. Birrell permits a Budget to be introduced which so heavily taxes Ireland.

Says the *Kilkenny People* (May 8):—

"This cruel injustice is inflicted by the so-called great friends of Ireland, the Liberals, who owe their big majority largely to the support

of the Irish vote in England, given to them by the influence of the party leaders who, in their child-like innocence, never attempted to extract the slightest promise of any concessions from the Liberal Party in return for the gift of one hundred or more British constituencies which the Irish Party claim to control in Great Britain."

Says the *Midland Reporter* (May 13):—

"Ireland will be one of the heaviest sufferers under Mr. Lloyd George's Budget, and the new taxes will press with greater severity on this country than on any place else. Accordingly in a healthy state of things all the National efforts should be directed to a bitter and sustained fight against the Government responsible for this injustice. So far as appearances go at present, the Liberals will not have to face much Irish opposition in Parliament. In the important divisions on Tuesday, when the Government majority dropped to a vanishing point, only twenty-five of the Irish Party went into the Opposition lobby. Mr. Dillon, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and other leaders were in the House, but did not vote. Mr. Redmond was away on a Liberal platform supporting the Liberal candidate in a constituency where the Irish vote has a certain value. Under these circumstances, the people in Ireland, who will be fleeced by the new taxes, may make up their minds that they will get no redress, and that all that will be left to them will be to pay up."

Sinn Féin (May 15) quotes the *Enniscorthy Echo*:—

"Three years have passed since the Liberals, with Redmond's foolish aid, climbed into power. They swore to do a score of things for Ireland—but what have they done? And all the time as they worked for England they were fooling the helpless Irish Party; keeping them in humour with promises they had no notion of fulfilling; Bryce with his feeding bottle of 'sympathy'; then Birrell with his jokes and jeers, tempered with coercion. And the poor foolish people, believing that in the Irish Party they really had a shield and a bulwark, continued to support that party. And now how do they find the Parliamentary policy has worked out? 'Trust to us and all will be right,' said Mr. Redmond in Wexford. And as a reward for Ireland's trust £1,500,000 has been added to the crushing burden of Irish taxation."

The Next Election.

Mr. John Redmond, M.P., speaking at Bolton on May 11, said:—

"I venture to call upon the Liberal Party by all their pledges in the past, by all the great principles that they avow, and which they put into force elsewhere throughout the world, to put this Irish question once more in the front of their programme at the next election. We Irish Nationalists, at any rate, are bound to insist that the Irish question—the Home Rule question—shall not be burked or shirked as it was at the General Election. We must, in justice to our country and to our cause, call on every Irishman in this country to refuse to vote for any candidate who is not prepared to declare, not merely that he is a Home Ruler in theory, but that he will use all his influence to have Home Rule put in the front at the next General Election."—*Freeman's Journal*, May 11.

Why does Mr. Redmond adopt this pleading tone? Did he not declare at Boston, U.S.A., last year that "Mr. Asquith is pledged publicly and privately to make full Home Rule one of the living issues to be put before the electors at the next General Election"?—*Irish Independent*, October 5, 1908.

Surely Mr. Redmond is not putting much trust in the Prime Minister's "pledges," to be still "venturing to call upon the Liberal Party to put Home Rule in the front of their programme."

"Free and Independent."

Father O'Donnell, one of the delegates of the Ancient Order of Hibernians from the United States, has at least the merit of being perfectly candid. Speaking at Kilkenny on May 14, he said:—

"Ireland ought to be a free and independent nation."—*Freeman*,

May 15.

With Father O'Donnell Unionists know where they are. They appreciate his attitude better than they do that of Mr. Redmond, who in Great Britain tells his audience that all he wants is an Irish Parliament for purely Irish affairs; but in the United States declares his hope to be an **Irish republic**.

Speaking to a reporter for the *New York Herald* at Quarantine, Mr. Redmond said:—

"What Ireland wants is Home Rule and a Government of its own, and that is what Ireland is going to have. I hope to see Ireland placed in the scale of nations **much after the fashion of the United States** as to constitution, but it will, of course, be some time before there is actual independence there."—*Irish Independent*, September 26, 1908.

Until Mr. Redmond repudiates such opinions, he cannot be surprised if he is classed among the Hibernians, as desiring the independence of Ireland. His moderate claims for Ireland are reserved for British platforms, where he fears to advance the whole demand for "Ireland, a nation."

Nationalist Allies declare themselves.

Mr. Redmond addressed a meeting of Liberals at Wolverhampton on April 30, when a resolution in favour of Home Rule was unanimously carried. **Alderman Thorne, M.P.** for East Wolverhampton, presided and proposed the Home Rule resolution, when he stated that he **had long been a "convinced Home Ruler for Ireland."** **Major Dunne, M.P.** for Walsall, seconded the resolution. **Sir Charles Shaw, Bart., M.P.** for Stafford, proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Redmond, and declared himself **an old Home Ruler.** **Mr. A. G. Hooper, M.P.** for Dudley, seconded the vote of thanks.

On May 11 Mr. Redmond appeared at Bolton, where we understand the Irish Home Rule vote counts for something at election times.

Mr. Harwood, M.P., one of the local members, said:—

"If it costs me my seat, I shall insist that this question of Home Rule shall be put into the forefront."—*Freeman's Journal*, May 13.

We call the attention of the electors of East Wolverhampton, Walsall, Stafford, Dudley, and Bolton to the action of their members. Every vote given to them at the next election is a vote given for the destruction of the present constitution of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Healy and the Cromwellians.

Mr. T. M. Healy, K.C., M.P., in the course of a speech on the land question at the Belvedere College Debating Society, Dublin, on April 29, said :—

“The land on which we were born passed to the Ironsides and psalm-singers and canters and nose-twisters of Worcestershire, Essex, and Middlesex.”—*Irish Independent*, April 30.

We wonder what Radical Nonconformists who regard themselves as descendants of the Cromwellians will think of this insulting reference to their ancestors. Surely their Irish Nationalist allies might have some consideration for their feelings.

Yankee Threats.

Mr. Matthew Cummings, the supreme head of the American “Ancient Order of Hibernians,” at a farewell supper in New York, before he departed on his “mission” to Ireland, is reported in the *Freeman's Journal* (April 13) to have made the following remarks :—

“What he stated there that night he was prepared to say boldly wherever he went on the other side. The Irish now represented a large portion of the citizens of America. They had made a compact with the Germans, who made a large factor in American life. **He wished England to clearly understand that, in the event of war with Germany, the Irish and Germans in America would be united in opposing them.** That also he was ready to state on the other side. He hoped their mission would be a success.”

On landing at Queenstown, Mr. Cummings said (*Freeman's Journal*, April 12) :—

“Let them remember this, that in America Irish Nationality meant the freedom and independence of Ireland and nothing else.”

Speaking before the Gaelic League in Dublin, he said : “There were twenty-five millions of the Irish race in America : **they were allied with the great German race.** The German people were thirty per cent. of the population of the United States, those of Irish blood were twenty-seven per cent., making a total of fifty-seven per cent. of the population of America, and while England was looking for alliances and arbitration treaties, that fifty-seven per cent. was looking after the interests of Ireland.”

At Liverpool on March 28, Mr. T. P. O'Connor spoke as follows : “He said this without hesitation and without reserve, that a thorough and complete really good understanding with the people of the United States was impossible until ten millions of men of Irish birth and Irish origin were satisfied that England had removed from her banner the stain and the shame of an ill-governed Ireland.”—*Freeman's Journal*, March 29.

Brotherly Love.

How these Irish Nationalists love one another ! The following extracts are taken from the *Irish News* (April 22), which quotes them with approval from the New York *Irish World* (April 10). Mr. Cummings, the gentleman referred to, has recently been in Ireland from the United States, on a mission to heal the differences between the conflicting Boards of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

"Mr. Matthew Cummings . . . has neither the fitness nor the authority to act in any such capacity. . . His record in Irish National politics entirely disqualifies him for any good work for Ireland. . . He is a member of the Clan-na-Gael Society, and closely associated with that section of it which is most malignantly and actively hostile to the U.I.L. and the Irish Parliamentary Party. . .

"Mr. Matthew Cummings, an individual comparatively obscure and unknown, and with no record whatever in the service of the Irish cause, has the audacity to undertake a 'mission' to Ireland to persuade the Irish Nation that their chosen and trusted National Party are 'masquerading under the cloak of patriotism,' and 'fooling' the people, and that their policy, supported by all the Bishops of Irish blood throughout the world, and by the vast majority of the Irish race, is 'false and humbug Nationality. . .'

"That is what Mr. Matthew Cummings is sailing to Ireland to undertake, and it is he himself that tells it, for we quote his own words. The business might be somewhat distressing to think of if it did not present a strong element of the comic. Mr. Matthew Cummings going to preach and teach true Irish Nationality to Bishop O'Donnell and Archbishop Finnely and all the other prelates of Ireland, as well as to John Redmond and John Dillon and all their colleagues of the Irish Party, is surely a mirth-producing spectacle."

Armed and Well-Prepared.

"Adjutant-General" John McCarthy, speaking at a meeting of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Belfast on May 5, is reported by the *Belfast News Letter* (May 6) to have said that:—

"They had a membership of 24,000 in the two different branches of Hibernian Knights and Hibernian Rifle Companies. They had 14,000 men in 16 regiments, uniformed, equipped, and ready at a moment's notice to take the field."

An Argument for Union.

The *Irish Independent* (May 8) has—probably unwittingly—put forward a strong argument for maintaining unimpaired the connection between Great Britain and Ireland. It says:—

"Ireland's trade connection with Great Britain is so valuable that every effort ought to be made not only to preserve, but to expand it so that we may be able to supply the English market with almost the entire agricultural produce required there. An analysis of the returns of the Department of Agriculture for 1907 shows that: (1) The Irish export of all classes of live stock was much larger than the import from any other country into Great Britain; (2) the Irish export of butter to Great Britain was the second largest in quantity and value; (3) the Irish export of eggs was the second largest quantity and the largest value imported into Great Britain; (4) the export of poultry from Ireland was greater than that from any other country into Great Britain; (5) Ireland supplies the third largest quantity of bacon and hams, and yields to none in quality; and (6) it sends also to Great Britain large quantities of farm produce such as potatoes

and oats. It will be observed that all kinds of produce exported from this country to Great Britain are of a superior quality, and will, therefore, on their intrinsic merits easily hold their own against the imports from foreign countries, provided always proper precautions are taken in the marketing of Irish produce. Upon this point producers and exporters have, of late, been bestowing more attention than they did heretofore, with the result that there is a prospect of a substantial increase in our trade."

Everyone will rejoice at Ireland's success. But what becomes of the Home Rule argument that Ireland gains nothing from being a portion of the United Kingdom?

Mr. Redmond's Appeal for Unity.

Mr. Redmond visited Cork on April 28 to support the official Nationalist candidate, Mr. George Crosbie, against the Independent Nationalist candidate, Mr. Maurice Healy. In the course of his speech he said that—

"He believed that the people of Cork were sick of dissension, and they believed that Cork was determined to declare that she would no longer tolerate the position of being cut off from the rest of Nationalist Ireland. . . No man raised his voice in Cork against Mr. Crosbie's candidature until the Irish Party endorsed it, and even from that day to this nobody had said anything against Mr. Crosbie's fitness for the position—**his one crime and his one fault was that his candidature had received the endorsement of the Irish Party.** . . He asked the Nationalists of Cork to rally to the Irish Party; he asked them to return Mr. Crosbie by an overwhelming majority; he appealed to them for a verdict in favour of peace and National unity; he appealed to them for a verdict of death upon dissension in every form in Ireland; he appealed to them to give a verdict in favour of party discipline and majority rule; he appealed to them for a verdict in support of the National Party and the National policy, and he made that appeal, not in his own name, not even in the name of his colleagues, but he made the appeal to Cork, with a full sense of his responsibility—he made it in the name of the Nationalists of Ireland."—*Cork Constitution*, April 29.

Result.—Majority of 1,159 against Mr. Redmond and "Unity."

Subscriptions Fall Off.

From the *Outlook* (May 8):—

"The latest published accounts of the subscriptions in Ireland to the funds of the Irish Parliamentary Fund must be somewhat disheartening to Mr. John Redmond and his followers. The amount acknowledged up to April 27, 1908, was £3,208. For the same period of the present year the total is only £1,690. This is one more evidence of the serious disunion which exists amongst Irish Nationalists. A few more contested elections, such as that which has occurred in Cork and that which is threatened in Limerick, will go far to deplete the war-chest. The dispute with the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America will seriously affect the supply of dollars from the United

States, and it looks as if a lean time was in store for the Redmondite members of Parliament."

The Difference.

Mr. J. P. Farrell, M.P., was sent to prison for six months for refusing to discontinue publishing resolutions advocating cattle-driving; when he came out of prison, he was enthusiastically received, was entertained to a banquet, and presented with a purse of £600. Mr. Ginnell, M.P., the gentleman who was the origin of the cattle-driving movement, also went to prison, but no reception awaited him when he came out, nor did he receive the more substantial solatium of a purse. Mr. Farrell is a loyal supporter of Mr. Redmond, and, therefore, a popular hero; Mr. Ginnell, on the other hand, asked **what had become of certain Party Funds**, for which he was unceremoniously turned out of the Nationalist Party's meeting. Why this invidious distinction?

A.O.H. condemned by Cardinal Logue.

In an address at Carrickmore, Cardinal Logue made a remarkable pronouncement with reference to the Ancient Order of Hibernians. He said:—

"It saddened him to find, as often happens in good Catholic parishes, the devil had introduced a scheme to draw the people away from their religion. **The instrument employed in that parish was the Ancient Order of Hibernians.**

"The Ancient Order of Hibernians, whatever they may be in other places, had in this parish and in some other parishes become **a pest, a cruel tyranny, and an organised system of blackguardism.** It had been stated that in his Lenten Pastoral he had said hard things of the A.O.H. Then he was not quite certain of the correctness of his information, but now he was certain that in the A.O.H. halls drinking and dancing till the small hours of the morning were carried on. Not alone this, but in Carrickmore and in some other parishes the members of the A.O.H., not content with being Hibernians themselves, endeavoured **to compel others to join the order by means of boycotting, threatening, interfering with persons buying and selling and with tradesmen carrying on their trade, and still more by way-laying and beating persons who did not join their Society.**

"This state of things he could not tolerate, but would be obliged to take sterner measures, and if the remedy which he was now about to apply did not bring these practices to an end, he would, in the discharge of his duties as Bishop, **excommunicate the Hibernians** throughout his diocese.

"Some time ago the rules of the Society had been submitted to the Bishops of Ireland at their general meeting. There was nothing in the rules to which anyone could object. That, indeed, was one of the greatest dangers of the Society, because the members boasted that they were all good Catholics, and they boycotted, threatened, waylaid, and beat their neighbour for the honour of religion. The Bishops, however, had not given any approbation to the A.O.H., but merely tolerated the Society in order to see how it might turn out. **It was feared that it might be merely a revival of the old Ribbonmen**

or 'Molly Maguires,' whose principal object had been waylaying and beating.

"His Eminence then concluded by saying that in future **he would strictly forbid all priests to give absolution to anyone who, by boycotting, by threatening, by waylaying, or by any other means, should try to compel any person to join the Society.**"—*Irish Independent*, May 14.

What has Mr. Joe Devlin, M.P., Secretary of the United Irish League and President of the A.O.H., to say to this?

Why not the U.I.L.?

Considerable interest has been aroused by this denunciation of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and the threat to cause to be excommunicated those members who "by boycotting, by threatening, by waylaying, or by any other means, should try to compel any person to join the Society."

People are not unnaturally asking why the Cardinal does not venture to deliver a similar warning to members of the United Irish League, who indulge in similar threats. There is ample evidence that such practices are indulged in by Leaguers. The two organisations work hand in hand, and it would be hard to say where the activities of the one leave off and the other begin. For Mr. Joe Devlin, M.P., is Secretary of the United Irish League, as well as President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

The only difference, and it would be difficult to believe that it would have any weight with the Cardinal, is that as the A.O.H. is exclusively a Roman Catholic organisation, its methods of intimidation are directed entirely against Catholics, whilst the U.I.L., not being so confined to one denomination, exerts its illegal powers of persuasion also over Protestants.

Can we say that it is wrong to intimidate a Catholic, and not so unjust to intimidate one of another faith?

Riverstown Conspiracy Case.

In pursuance of the policy of administering justice by the "ordinary" law, there was heard in Dublin on May 13 and 14, before a County Dublin jury, the case against 17 persons for criminal conspiracy to compel certain Protestant farmers at Riverstown in County Sligo, against their own will, to join the United Irish League, and to subscribe to its funds.

It is a long step from Sligo to County Dublin, but the change of venue was demanded by the Government, who knew that to associate the people of the former district with the administration of the criminal law, to use Mr. Cherry's words, would be to court disaster.

It will be remembered that when the case was first heard before the Riverstown magistrates, the intimidated Protestants refused to appear as witnesses as a protest against the apathy of the Government. Warrants were issued, and at the second hearing at Ballymote, the defendants' counsel obtained an adjournment for three months. The Crown Solicitor requested those magistrates who were members of the U.I.L. to retire, but no one did so.

At the third sitting, at Riverstown, on February 5, the magistrates refused informations. Mr. Cherry then took the matter out of the magistrates' hands, and at the Sligo Spring Assizes, on March 10, the

Crown Counsel applied for an adjournment of the trial, with a view to changing the venue to Dublin. In his application counsel said:—

"The accused were in due course summoned at Riverstown Petty Sessions, and informations were refused by a majority of six to three magistrates. Mr. John O'Dowd, M.P., who was Chairman of the South Sligo Executive of the League, was one of the magistrates. Another magistrate who was among the majority was Mr. James Hannan, who presided at a meeting of the League in Ballymote on February 14, 1909. Another magistrate who voted for the refusal of informations was Mr. John M. Cryan, who was, according to the Inspector's information, treasurer of the Culfodda Branch of the League. Mr. Antony O'D. Cogan, another magistrate, whose son, Mr. C. W. P. Cogan, was a well-known organiser of the United Irish League, which was a large and powerful organisation in the County of Sligo."—*Irish Times*, March 11.

And so the case was referred to Dublin, where, notwithstanding the Solicitor-General's eloquence, the jury disagreed.

The next step lies with the Government. Will they abandon the case? Can they dare, in the face of their own counsel (Serjeant Moriarty), who said:—

"The object of the prosecution was not to punish these men, but to deter others in the country from entering into combination and making the lives of their Protestant neighbours absolutely intolerable, as they would be, if this kind of thing were tolerated.

What Government could possibly tolerate such a condition of things as this?"—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 15.

A Fallacious Argument.

The writer of a letter which appeared in a recent issue of the *Nation* asserts that because at the recent Spring Assizes in Ireland the number of indictments only reached a total of 138, Ireland is therefore immune from crime.

As the *Nation's* correspondent admits that he is a Crown Prosecutor, we cannot excuse him of confusing the issue through ignorance. As regards ordinary crime Ireland may or may not compare favourably with other countries. That does not concern us. It is a police matter.

What we do say is, that as regards agrarian and political crime, Ireland is not in a satisfactory condition. The "Crown Prosecutor" cannot deny this, unless he would contradict the Prime Minister and Mr. Birrell.

His figures, as to the small number of indictments prove nothing more than the laxity of the administration to punish agrarian crime. It is easy enough to keep the number down, when insufficient or no steps at all are taken to bring offenders to the Assizes.

Mr. Birrell has himself recently shown how fallacious is the "Crown Prosecutor's" reasoning in the case of County Longford.

In the House of Commons (May 4) Mr. J. P. Farrell, M.P., asked Mr. Birrell whether he was aware that "at the recent assizes and quarter sessions in the county a state of almost absolute crimelessness was revealed," and would he, having regard to this, reduce the extra force of police serving there.

Applying the "Crown Prosecutor's" test, the county ought to be in a most satisfactory condition, and one might have expected Mr. Birrell

to reply in the affirmative. What the Chief Secretary did say was :—
 “While the county is in a satisfactory state as regards ordinary crime, boycotting and intimidation have by no means ceased. So long as these continue the police force cannot be reduced.” Which entirely proves the force of our contention, and points the fallacy in the “Crown Prosecutor’s” argument.

Boycotting Statistics.

Mr. Butcher has obtained from the Irish Office the following return (House of Commons Paper No. 116) of the number of cases of persons boycotted throughout Ireland on the undermentioned dates, and in the following form, with a footnote indicating the dates at which Proclamations applying the provisions of Section 2 of the Criminal Law and Procedure Act, 1887, to certain districts were issued and revoked, the dates at which Proclamations applying the provisions of Sections 3 and 4 of the Act to certain Counties and County Boroughs were issued and revoked, and the date in 1901 on which proceedings were first instituted under the provisions of Section 2, Subsection 3 (a), of the Act which are operative without Proclamation :—

Date.	Complete Boycotting.		Partial Boycotting.		Minor Boycotting.		Total.	
	Cases.	Persons.	Cases.	Persons.	Cases.	Persons.	Cases.	Persons.
30th June, 1893 ..	—	—	4	18	—	—	—	—
„ 1894 ..	—	—	3	21	—	—	—	—
„ 1895 ..	—	—	8	43	—	—	—	—
„ 1896 ..	—	—	6	30	—	—	—	—
„ 1897 ..	—	—	10	63	—	—	—	—
„ 1898 ..	4	24	8	46	—	—	—	—
„ 1899 ..	4	33	15	84	—	—	—	—
„ 1900 ..	4	21	29	160	—	—	—	—
„ 1901 ..	3	15	23	144	—	—	—	—
31st December, 1901	4	21	31	190	(a)	—	—	—
30th June, 1902 ..	6	39	42	246	161	715	209	1,000
31st December, 1902	4	26	37	212	148	646	189	884
30th June, 1903 ..	4	25	21	129	67	311	92	465
31st December, 1903	4	25	9	45	31	146	44	216
30th June, 1904 ..	4	24	9	46	31	134	44	204
31st December, 1904	4	23	10	60	31	131	45	214
30th June, 1905 ..	4	22	8	40	34	132	46	194
31st December, 1905	2	13	8	40	30	121	40	174
30th June, 1906 ..	2	13	5	25	32	138	39	176
31st December, 1906	3	14	7	38	34	150	44	202
30th June, 1907 ..	4	20	10	48	76	262	90	330
31st December, 1907	2	11	7	37	116	372	125	420
30th June, 1908 ..	16	72	10	37	142	550	168	659
31st December, 1908	15	56	10	38	172	652	197	746
28th February, 1909	(b) 38	188	11	42	177	659	226	889

(a) The figures as to Minor Boycotting were not compiled previous to 1902, and were not included in any Boycotting Returns.

(b) This large increase in complete Boycotting is due to the boycotting of a landowner and 21 of his labourers and their families which arose about the beginning of this year; these labourers are no longer boycotted, and this landowner is now only boycotted in a minor degree.

NOTE.—Proclamations applying the provisions of Sections 2, 3, and 4 of the Criminal Law and Procedure Act, 1887, to certain districts were issued on 23rd July, 1887, and were revoked on 14th September, 1892. Proclamations under the same sections were put in force on 16th April and 1st September, 1902. Some of those under Section 2 were revoked on 2nd February, 1903, and the remainder under Section 2 on 14th July, 1903. Those under Sections 3 and 4 were revoked on 6th February, 1906.

Proceedings under Section 2, Subsection 3 (a), of the Act were first instituted in 1901 on 13th August.

What Boycotting means.

What boycotting means was vividly illustrated during the hearing of a case recently in the Probate Court and reported in the *Irish Times* (May 11). Counsel stated that the boycotted person—a widow—

1. Had her public house boycotted.
2. Had her windows broken almost every night.
3. Had the local band playing and groaning outside her door.
4. Had nearly every person seen going into her house threatened.

“Infernal Boycotting.”

In a case heard at Mullingar Quarter Sessions on April 6, Judge Curran made the following remarks :—

“His Honour said this case was first before him last October as an appeal from the refusal of the Rathowen magistrates to renew Mr. Carberry’s licence. There was very bad boycotting in the district at the time, and the Judge and the magistrates there who heard the appeal with him, were all satisfied that Carberry had taken a very active part in this agitation against Mr. Bond. Whether he did so as the result of being coerced or not, did not make much difference, and he considered he was much to blame, for a respectable man like Mr. Carberry in business could do far more harm in a district than could the blatant babblings of political and social nonentities. They could only bite with the tongue; he could do so by depriving people of goods. He was more anxious to stop boycotting than to punish Mr. Carberry, so he let the case stand over till the January Sessions in order that Mr. Carberry’s friends—his pretended friends—might help him. At the last Sessions the Judge was, however, told that this was not done, and that boycotting was still going on, and that, in fact, the very week before he came to sit there one of the cottages from which Mr. Bond’s labourers had been evicted had been given by the District Council to an outsider, when they could have put back the former tenant. He was determined to **stop boycotting**, which the Judge described truly when he called it **infernal**.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, April 7.

Defiance of the Law ; Judge's comments.

In a case heard in Dublin in an action for trespass the Master of the Rolls said he could not comprehend the defendant's action unless the people of Roscommon thought there was no law left in this country, and that there was no Court that would prevent them defying the rights of property. His lordship might say to Mr. Patrick Leonard that he might go home and tell his friends in Roscommon that there was a Court in Dublin which still retained the power to prevent invasion of legal rights, which still had the power to protect owners of property, and which still was armed with a weapon to punish disobedience of its order. If Mr. Patrick Leonard broke the order and injunction that would be made against him, either individually or in conspiracy with others, he would find himself lodged in prison, from which he would not emerge until he had purged his contempt. His lordship held that the defendant's conduct was an absolutely unfounded claim to the property of another man whose title was perfectly clear. He granted the injunction as asked for with costs.—*Dublin Daily Express*, April 19.

Law and Order in Roscommon.

The district of Lisadurn in Co. Roscommon was the scene of disturbances arising out of a public meeting held on Sunday, April 26. The demonstration was inaugurated by the local branches of the United Irish League. Some time after twelve o'clock the massed bands of Aughrim, Drumlioni, Creeve, and Elphin arrived at the place, and preparations were made to address the meeting. Immediately the District Inspector approached the leaders and informed them the meeting could not be held. The latter expressed their intention of holding the meeting. At this stage some of the police seized the drum of the Aughrim contingent. This was the signal for hostilities, and after an exciting bout the drum was recaptured. A "draw batons" charge was the next order given, and it was followed by a yell of defiance from the crowd, **who shouted "Draw stones," and immediately a shower of limestone fragments were poured on the police.** Batons and fifes and drums were mixed up in the mêlée, and the forces of the Crown were driven back about a mile. In their retreat the police transport car and horse were seized by the crowd. The meeting was addressed at length by various speakers, **the police being kept at bay by a crowd of volunteers.** When the meeting concluded the transport car and horse were handed back to the constabulary, and, headed by the four bands, the crowd proceeded to Hillstreet village, where another demonstration was held. There were many police and Leaguers injured in the fight, and prosecutions are expected as a result of the battle.—*Northern Whig*, April 27.

Killed by Persecution.

The *Irish Times* (May 3) reports the sudden death of a man named James Hogan under distressing circumstances.

Hogan held a farm on the eleven months' system, and in connection with one of his holdings recently received several threatening notices. This holding he eventually gave up. But the intimidators were not satisfied and called upon him to relinquish another holding, also held on

the eleven months' system. Thus he was to be deprived of the only means of supporting himself, his wife, and eight children.

In Galway, on April 28, he was heard to complain that he felt as if his heart was breaking, and he said that he was unable to bear the strain that was being put upon him. That evening he received another notice calling upon him to surrender his holding. Shortly afterwards he walked out of the house and was about to enter the barn when he fell dead.

In this way the intimidators gained their end—but only at the cost of a human life. Another wretched victim is placed to the account of intimidation and lawlessness in "crimeless" Ireland.

Threatening Notice.

From the report of a trial for intimidation in the *Dublin Daily Express* (April 21), we reproduce the following notice, which was posted in Tranmore by a farmer's son:—

"GRASS GRABBING.

"Men of Tranmore, appeal to your sense of fair play, if not of nationality, and bring to his knees the mean grabber, Robert Vettie, who is now grazing Delahaunty's evicted farm (behind his back), from which he was evicted under a heavy rack rent extending over a generation, and forced to cross the seas to Arizona, the grabber thus trespassing on Delahaunty's right, and robbing him of his chances of re-instatement. It is now sowing season, but who shall reap or thresh for the grabber?"

A Pleasant Sunday Afternoon.

From the *Longford Leader* (May 1):—

"On Sunday last, contingents, accompanied by bands, visited the village of Killashee, from Clough, Moydow, and Clondra, and in the evening, with the local fife and drum band, they set out with the object of paying a visit to William Jones, of Rapparee Hill. Throughout the earlier part of the day, there were very few police to be seen around, but as the bands started out of the village, they came in groups and squads from various directions and soon they seemed to out-number the demonstrators, who accompanied the bands. The County Inspector, District Inspector, and two head constables were also present to direct operations. A little way beyond the village the police drew a cordon across the road to prevent the bands and contingents going any further in that direction. But the popular party were not thus easily to be baulked in accomplishing their object. They took the fields for it, and so did some of the police also. After a steeple chase of half a mile or so, the police got in front again, and with reinforced numbers set about checking the onward march of the 'boys.' One particularly zealous sergeant from Ballymahon, and whose name is Kearney, we have been informed, is alleged to have made an attempt to capture the Killashee drum, but the boys of Killashee were not to be cowed and beaten one day, and they showed fight. Consequently, the sergeant alluded to got a whack of a stick across the head, which knocked him all of a heap, and soon covered him all over with blood. This incident was the signal for a general mêlée between police and people. Batons

were drawn, and the police laid round them in all directions, several young lads sustaining cut heads and bruised shoulders and arms in consequence. After the skirmish had proceeded for some few minutes, both sides retired to attend to their wounded. The police linked their stricken comrade back to the village, and the wounded on the popular side, numbering about a dozen, were also taken back to the village, where the remainder of the evening was devoted to hospital work. Nothing further in the way of a renewal of hostilities occurred, and there has been no new development since. We congratulate the brave boys of Killashee, Clondra, Moydow, and Ballymacormack upon their splendid determination not to allow Grabber Jones to eat his Sunday dinner in peace. More of that to him, say we."

More "Sport."

From the *Dublin Daily Express* (May 15):—

"At a special Court in the Police Barracks, Thurles, James O'Connell was remanded for eight days on a charge of firing from a railway carriage the previous day on the train between Thurles and Goold's Cross Stations.

"Garret Copley, guard of the train, deposed that about half a mile outside Goold's Cross he heard some noise as if it were a shot, and in about a minute he heard a second. He looked out of the van, and after a short time saw a man thrust a revolver through a third-class carriage window. He saw a man's face, and identified accused as the man. He fired a third shot, and after some time fired a fourth in the direction of a cottage about twenty yards from the line, occupied by one of the company's servants. A fifth he fired into a field where some cattle were grazing. He fired a sixth shot at a man and horse ploughing a field, and a seventh he discharged in the direction of the guard's van.

"The prisoner said he did no injury, and only fired into the air for **pure sport.**"

On May 15 at Galway, two men named Michael and Patrick O'Dea were charged with having conspired **to shoot and murder** Thomas Burke, farmer, of Kinvara, on April 28. Burke, when returning to his home, was shot at from behind a low wall, and was severely wounded. The evidence showed that he was struck by 27 pellets, eight of which entered his flesh.

Burke stated that the first shot was fired when he was only eight yards distant. Just before the shot was fired he saw a man peep over the low wall on the roadside. When he walked towards his house he looked over the ditch to see who had fired, and he saw Michael O'Dea deliberately aiming the gun at him. O'Dea fired, and some of the pellets wounded Burke. O'Dea afterwards pulled a cloak over his head and ran through the fields. Burke said that he had no difficulty in recognising Michael O'Dea, as he had known him since he was a child. Burke then crossed the wall, and at the place where he had seen Michael O'Dea he found a cap, which he gave to the police.

In cross-examination Burke admitted that when making a complaint at the police barrack on the same evening he did not mention Michael O'Dea's name, as he wished to consult his people first about prosecuting.

A number of witnesses were examined for the defence, and Michael O'Dea was returned for trial to the next assizes for the county. Patrick O'Dea was discharged.

Another shooting outrage is reported from South Westmeath.

Last week 15 shots were fired into the house of a farmer named John Malphy, who resides at a place called Ballymacleevy. Malphy and his family were in bed at the time, and were not injured, but the windows and door in the front of the house were riddled with shot.

The Extra Police.

Replying to a question by Mr. Kennedy, M.P., Mr. Birrell says in a written answer (May 19) that:—

"The present strength of the Royal Irish Constabulary is 37 county and town inspectors, 196 district inspectors, 237 head constables, and 10,250 constables. These numbers exceed by **5 head constables and 750 sergeants and constables** the force fixed at the last triennial redistribution in 1906, which may be regarded as the normal strength for the time being. The question of redistributing the force during the present year is now under consideration."

The Liberal Government have increased the strength of the police by 755 men. Surely, that should stop the assertions as to the peaceful condition of Ireland under Liberal rule. It is not usually necessary to increase the police force when a country is law-abiding. No more conclusive evidence as to the failure of Liberal rule in Ireland could be found.

Heavy Bill for Lawlessness.

The Roscommon County Council have been notified that the cost of extra police for twelve months is as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Six months to September, 1908 ..	1,647	13	7
Six months to March, 1909 ..	1,799	0	9
	£3,446	14	4

This sum will be deducted from the Exchequer grants made in aid of local taxation, and the county revenue being poorer by that amount, the ratepayers will have to make good the deficiency.

Nearly £3,500 for extra police is not a bad amount for one county in "crimeless Ireland."

"What Next?"

From the *Longford Leader* (May 15):—

"With the advent of Mr. Herbert Walker, son of the Liberal Lord Chancellor, to Longford, as an R.M. for our county, the British law, as administered heretofore, seems to have entered upon a new phase. . . . Take the case which was so suddenly and summarily disposed of on Thursday last at Newtownforbes—and never in the whole history of Coercion was a net so rapidly spread so wide in its area and so swift in its capture as the net which was landed at Newtownforbes on Thursday morning last. On Wednesday night peace and quietness reigned over the parish of Killashee. But before the next morning's dawn a horde of policemen had suddenly

swooped down on fourteen houses, and rudely tore from their roof-trees the fathers and brothers of fourteen families. Then by the aid of a specially arranged police transport service the victims were hurried out of their own Petty Sessional District into the remote village of Newtownforbes, and by 10 o'clock a drumhead court-martial was sitting "under the common law," with one eye on a train, which at 12 o'clock was passing through, and which duly swept the victims off to Sligo jail. The order of procedure to those who looked on seemed to be this:—

2 a.m.—Victims sleeping peacefully at home.

4 a.m.—Houses surrounded by police and victims arrested.

5 a.m.—Landed in Killashee barracks.

6 a.m.—Removed on transport cars to Newtownforbes Court.

9.30 a.m.—Arrival of Joss Walker to hold court-martial.

9.45 a.m.—Court-martial sits.

11 a.m.—Court is cleared after cases heard.

11.30 a.m.—Prisoners convicted and sentenced.

12 noon.—Despatched by train to Sligo Prison.

2.30 p.m.—Arrival in Sligo jail.

3 p.m.—Silence in nine cells in Sligo jail—each man duly bagged.

"We think we are fully entitled to say that never in the worst days of Coercion was there anything to equal this for speed, precision, and accuracy of detail. And this is all done under a benign and benevolent Liberal Government. . . . Seriously, we ask Mr. Birrell, or Mr. Cherry, how can they reconcile these acts of mal-administration with their lip-professions of sympathy and friendship for the people of Ireland? If they claim, as they do claim, that the ordinary law is sufficient for the government of this country, why in heaven's name do they proceed like thieves in the night to surround peaceful farmhouses, to drag the inmates out of their beds at unearthly hours, to hustle them into a backward Petty Sessions Court, and so time the proceedings as to sweep their prisoners off to jail inside of 12 hours? . . . We say emphatically that no Tory Coercion ever before was like this! In the days of Balfour's Coercion Act the prisoners were never arrested—they were summoned and days elapsed before the Court sat to try them. Bad as these Coercion tribunals were, they had at least the merit of giving the prisoners the chance of calling evidence in their own behalf. . . ."

To this it would seem only necessary to add the following quotation from Mr. Cherry's speech at Liverpool on October 8, 1908:—

"The Liberal view was to associate the people with the administration of criminal law in such a way as to make them feel they were responsible for the welfare and good order of their own country!"—*Freeman's Journal*, October 9.

Malicious Injury Law.

Mr. Ginnell's Bill to repeal the law which places the charge for malicious injuries on the ratepayers of the district failed to find sympathy from even the present Government. (House of Commons, May 21.) It is interesting to note that there are some lengths to which the Government are not prepared to follow their Home Rule allies.

Little interest was taken in the measure by the Irish Home Rulers, and on two occasions the Speaker's attention had to be called to the fact that there were not 40 members present. None of the Nationalist leaders spoke, and Mr. Birrell left the task of replying for the Government in Mr. Cherry's hands.

At the close of his speech, Mr. Cherry said :—

"We are opposing the proposed repeal, because we think it is only consistent with justice and right, that this system of compensation for maiming or murdering police officers or witnesses, and for malicious injury to property, no matter what the object may be, whether political or personal, should go on; and that as regards the extra police, that it is only fair and reasonable that one-half of the cost, at all events, should continue, as before, to be borne by the localities the conduct of whose inhabitants requires the extra police."—*Parliamentary Debates*, May 21.

The Second Reading of the Bill was rejected by 170 to 88, the Government being supported by the Opposition.

An Able Defence.

The Ennis Branch of the U.I.L. had a sensation on April 11. They had demanded the surrender of the grazing lands in their locality and had apparently been enforcing their views by the usual methods of "peaceful persuasion"—cattle-driving and threatening notices. In Mr. John Moroney, a tenant of the lands of Lifford, however, they caught a tartar. Far from acquiescing in the League's demands, Mr. Moroney attended the meeting, and lectured the members in a way that made them repent of their action. The following extracts from Mr. Moroney's speech will be read with interest as a first-hand statement of facts. Incidentally it throws an inconvenient light on the methods of the "cattle-drivers" at a time when Mr. Birrell is asking Parliament to recognise the justice of their demands.

Mr. Moroney said :—

"Thanks to the solicitude of my neighbours for my welfare, already one side of my case is spread broadcast through the land, and, let me say, spread falsely too. . .

"My father close on 20 years ago became a tenant of the lands of Lifford, which comprise 29½ acres, statute measure—not a very extensive ranch, you will admit. . .

"When he died my mother occupied the land, and when she died I became tenant on the same conditions as my father, namely, a yearly tenant, and at a yearly rent. In support of the fact that I am a yearly tenant I herewith produce my rent receipt . . . which I trust will enlighten those gentlemen who have been so assiduously circulating through the country for months past that I am only an eleven months man. . .

"That it is principally for grazing purposes I occupy the lands of Lifford I readily admit, but how many of my class are there in and around Ennis who hold their lands for similar purposes, and why should I be singled out amongst all those as one to be condemned and held up to public scorn? Flour merchants, ironmongers, grocers, victuallers, and scores of others hold their lands for grazing purposes in and around Ennis, and when those are willing or compelled to

surrender their lands, then, and not until then, will I surrender what my father and mother held before me. . .

"I see some of the persons present who boasted that they have expended considerable sums of money in getting up this agitation against me, and that they will compel me to surrender this land. Now is their time, as I am anxiously waiting and panting for the fray. Where are the men who are so dexterous in sending me letters ornamented with coffins and cross-bones and skulls to-day? . . .

"Neither letters nor notices posted on the walls of Lifford, on the chapel gates of Doora, or the battlements of Corrovorrin Bridge, threatening me with death, judgment, and damnation, will in the least affect me. . .

"Let the gentleman who is the prime mover in this agitation practise what he preaches; let him, if he wants to see justice done, be prepared to toe the line and surrender his grass farm. . ."

It is pleasing to relate that Mr. Moroney's bold speech resulted in a vote of confidence being passed. Perhaps his success may induce others to beard the U.I.L. lion, who turns out to be not so terrible a creature after all when he is faced by an unflinching opponent.

We hope also that this disclosure of the spiteful and ill-founded nature of the anti-grazing agitation will be brought up during the discussions on Mr. Birrell's "Cattle-drivers' Bill."

[The extracts from Mr. Moroney's speech are from a report in the *Clare Champion* of April 17.]

How Compulsory Purchase (?) is Worked.

From the *Outlook* (May 8):—

"A striking instance of the manner in which compulsory purchase of land in Ireland by a State Department is bound to work is to be found in the report of a case heard in Dublin by the Estates Commissioners last Tuesday. In County Donegal a Mr. McKeown owns an estate of some 330 acres. Within the past two years he received a private offer of £4,500 for this property, but declined to sell. The Estates Commissioners, under the Evicted Tenants Act, served notice on Mr. McKeown that they intended to acquire the land, and they offered £3,000 only. Mr. McKeown naturally appealed against this offer, and he was informed in Court that the Commissioners would probably not insist on the sale to them. Mr. McKeown at once pointed out that the fact that the Commissioners offer to purchase at £1,500 less than had already been refused in the open market would practically render it impossible for Mr. McKeown to retain the land at all. He would at once be condemned as a grabber and subjected to intimidation and danger. This is a typical case well worthy of attention when Mr. Birrell's Land Bill comes to be debated again. It is a fair and just rule that, if a man is to be forced against his will to part with his property, he should at least be liberally dealt with, and compensated to some extent for the inconvenience he is put to. In this case Mr. McKeown not only has no chance of getting better terms under compulsory purchase, but he stands to lose at least £1,500 and be turned out of his estate as well."

The Land Bill: Mr. Dillon Threatens.

Speaking at Thurles on April 18, Mr. Dillon, with the object of reviving the waning spirit of land agitation, said:

"There was no remedy against unreasonable landlords but **agitation and disorder**, and he would tell the Government that it was not by massing police down in a district, or by arresting men at fairs, when they tried to provoke a row for the benefit of their English taskmasters, that the land question was going to be settled. He would tell the Government that so long as it supported the landlords in tyranny and unreason, **so long would there be disorder**. . . Again, they were told the House of Lords would not pass it (the Land Bill), and the landlords would not agree to it. When did the House of Lords or the Irish landlords ever pass anything that was favourable to the tenants of Ireland, unless when they were **forced to do so by agitation?** . . . Let this meeting be as a warning to the landlords and the House of Lords that the **spirit of the Land League was not dead**, that they were not afraid of the House of Lords, and that if the House of Lords threw out this Bill, then the **Irish people would cry havoc, and let loose the dogs of war.**"—*Dublin Daily Express*, April 19.

And in a letter to the secretaries of a public demonstration to be held at Swinford, on May 9, Mr. Dillon writes:

"If Connaught desires to have compulsory sale of untenanted and grass lands, and a reformed Congested Districts Board, with an additional income of £160,000 a year, Connaught must show fight, and there is not a moment to be lost in starting a really vigorous agitation in support of this portion of the Government's Bill."—*Dublin Daily Express*, April 26.

Mr. Devlin threatens Lawlessness.

Speaking at Ballinasloe on May 2, Mr. J. Devlin, M.P., Secretary of the United Irish League, said that:—

"He thought it his duty to warn the landlords and their friends in the House of Lords, that the rejection or mutilation of the (Land) Bill would have the most serious consequences for them. Mr. Birrell had already told them that their opposition would raise hell in Ireland, and he had no hesitation in repeating that warning."—*Freeman's Journal*, May 3.

New "Plan of Campaign."

Speaking on the Land Bill at Clonlost on April 18, Mr. Ginnell, M.P., of cattle-driving fame, said:—

"The Bill is such that if it passes, as well as before, if the rack-rented **tenants want to be emancipated they must pay no more rents**, but lodge in the hands of private trustees their rents, less the reduction which sale at a fair price would give them, ask the landlords to sell at those prices, and if they refuse, **use for fighting purposes all the money lodged**. That is the only way known to me in which a group of tenants can bring a landlord to his knees."—*Midland Reporter*, April 22.

Mr. Farrell still on the War Path.

Speaking at Longford on April 11, after his release from prison, Mr. Farrell, M.P., said :—

“ I tell Chief Baron Palles, as I told him to the bone of his nose in the Four Courts in Dublin, that we shall continue the struggle, and that if this Land Bill, which is now before Parliament, is not passed into law, and give the people a chance to go into possession of the lands, whether it is a Liberal Government that is in power, or a Tory Government, **we will make the bullocks trot all the same.** It is the finest exercise ever you took of a fine March or April morning. In this county of Longford, there are at least, at this present moment, five thousand acres of land, off which the people have been driven to make way for the bullocks. . . I hope soon to be sufficiently strong to march against the graziers—the Martins, for instance—and they will not feel much the happier because I have arrived.”—*Longford Leader*, April 16.

An Organiser's Threat.

Speaking at Killala on April 25, Mr. C. W. P. Cogan, an organiser of the United Irish League, referring to the Land Bill, said :—

“ Well, my friends, that Bill is going through Parliament at the present time, and if that Bill does not pass into law, the dogs of war will be let loose and the hazel brigade will once more to the fields, and with one united voice join hands in carrying out the doctrine of Davitt—Ireland for the Irish, and the land for the people.”—*Western People*, May 1.

The U.I.L. and Boycotting.

Speaking at a meeting of the United Irish League at Ardagh on April 18, Mr. Cogan, U.I.L. Organiser, said :—

“ He was sorry to see Ardagh in the same apathetic state it was in six months ago. He now asked the people to rally round the flag and make the grabbers feel that they were in an awkward position, facing public opinion. He asked the people to band themselves together and fight the grabbers, and they would have the assistance of the neighbouring branches. The fourteen men who had grabbed the farm should be left severely alone, and if they did this, the air of Ardagh would not long be polluted, as these men would relinquish the farm.”—*Mayo News*, April 24.

A Temporary Peace.

From the *Sligo Champion* (May 1) :—

“ **Geevagh Branch.**— . . The Knox and other ranches were dealt with. The final decision arrived at, after very earnest and serious deliberation, was—‘ That in view of the new Land Act, and with the hope and expectation that it will immediately become law, that the branch for the present refrain to impeach them, as we feel we would only forestall the law at most by only a couple of months. . . In the event of the new Bill failing to become law, the branch shall choose its own time and methods, and shall use every legitimate and just, if drastic, means in its power to secure that end.’ ”

More "Hazel."

At the meeting of the Riverstown Branch of the United Irish League, on March 29, the following resolution was passed: "... Stray cattle **wandering** on to **objectionable farms** will find great nourishment in the **particular variety of hazel** which flourishes in this district during the summer months."—*Sligo Champion*, April 3.

A League "Warning."

The following resolution was passed by the Ennis Branch of the United Irish League on March 28: "That we call on any person in this parish holding land on the 11 months system to surrender the same to the Estates Commissioners for the purpose of having it divided amongst the small farmers, as we believe it to be detrimental to the best interests of the country. The next meeting to be held on Sunday, 11 inst., will be an important one, and it is expected all in the parish who take an interest in the National cause will come up and join the Branch, **otherwise they must not expect much consideration from their fellow-men.**"—*Sligo Champion*, April 3.

The Law of the League.

From the *Longford Leader* (May 1):—

"**Clonguish Branch.**—A man named Cox from Tarmon is requested to cease his communications with the descendants of the man who stole the chains at Ballinamack.

"It was determinedly resolved that no person, stranger or otherwise, passing through the village of Newtownforbes to have any dealings with the police. They are not alone herding the bullocks, but they are picking up stuff for the dog boys.

"All the people in the employment of the Earl of Granard are warned not to have any dealing with the emergency men, as it is the time for letting six months' grass. All parties are warned to look out for the objectionable people.

"John Murtagh came before the meeting and apologised for talking to an expelled member of the branch. All parties associating themselves with him will be held up to public opinion.

"We have again to call on the Longford traders to be very careful who they supply with goods. We tell them if they don't be more careful in future we will leave them as we left some of their neighbours, and we call on the surrounding branches to support us in the matter."

From the resolution referring to "the people in the employment of the Earl of Granard," it would seem that even the workmen of His Majesty's Ministers are not exempt from the attention of the League.

That these resolutions and warnings do have a serious effect, we may gather from a reply by Mr. Birrell to Mr. Farrell (May 4), who wanted Mr. Birrell to reduce the police force. Said Mr. Birrell: "While the county is in a satisfactory state so far as regards ordinary crime, boycotting and intimidation have by no means ceased. So long as these continue, the police force cannot be reduced."

From the *Longford Leader* (May 8):—

"**KILLOE BRANCH.** The action of a gentleman residing in Mohill district and holding land in this part of the county Longford, was before the meeting for prominently associating himself with the notorious Harry Bond at the last fair of Longford. If this gentleman persists in keeping the company of this blackleg, his name will be published.

"The next matter taken up was the action of some parties in Upper Killoe for associating with the Newtownbond emergency man, and we now call on them for the last time to give an explanation regarding their conduct.

"The following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"That we again condemn the action of those parties in Rhyne who have ignored the resolution passed at this branch, by taking the grass lands in that district, and we tell those parties, if they insist in holding those lands, public opinion will be brought to bear on them in a way they don't expect."

A Railway to be Boycotted.

Upon receipt of a resolution from the local branch of the U.I.L., the Swinford District Council passed the following resolution:—

"That we mark our strong disapproval of the disagreeable manner in which the Great Southern and Western Railway Company dealt with the application for the excursion trains in connection with the great National demonstration which was addressed in Swinford by Mr. John Dillon, M.P., on the 9th May. This action of the Company is only in keeping with their conduct in dealing with all National meetings, and we appeal to the traders of Swinford, Kiltimagh, Charlestown, Tobercurry, Curry, and Kilkelly to make this protest effective by having their goods sent over the Midland line from Dublin to Claremorris, instead of over the Great Southern system, as heretofore."—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 20.

U.I.L. Graziers.

From the *Roscommon Herald* (May 15):—

"**Ballinaheglish Branch.**—It was decided to supply cards to persons desirous of becoming members of the U.I.L. outside the chapel-gate on next Sunday, and that no person who is not a member will be entitled to claim to get meadow on U.I.L. farm at Ballymakerly."

We thought the U.I.L. were opposed to grazing; but apparently they are only opposed to graziers who are not Leaguers.

Justified by Ministers.

In a case at Birr on May 17, the solicitor for the defence urged in justification of his client's action in driving off cattle that "they did it following the advice of people of greater intelligence—Cabinet Ministers, Members of Parliament, and others."—(*Dublin Daily Express*, May 18.)

Ministerial utterances are frequently brought forward in defence of law-breaking in Ireland. To the plain person, the defence seems conclusive, but persons of "greater intelligence" can find a loophole by which they are able to divest themselves to their own satisfaction of all responsibility.

LIFE IN IRELAND.

A Diary of Outrages, etc., under Radical Rule.

"I am not going to palliate or minimise the deplorable state of things which exists in some parts of Ireland. I and my colleagues would be false to our duty and false to our real opinions if we did anything of the kind. I quite admit that there are going on in some parts of Ireland things which are reprehensible, which ought to be put down, which public opinion ought to condemn, and which, so far as the arm of the law is strong enough to reach them, the arm of the law ought never to be slack in reaching and preventing."—Mr. Asquith, House of Commons, February 16.

April 21—Co. West Meath.—At a special court held at Mullingar, Patrick Meehan and Patrick Byrne were charged with driving 30 head of cattle belonging to Mr. W. Casey, of Whitepark, on March 22. They were bound over to be of good behaviour, or in default two months' imprisonment. Both prisoners refused to give bail and were conveyed to prison.—*Midland Reporter*, April 22.

April 24—Co. Galway.—Two policemen were on patrol duty at a place called Castletown when they came on a party of men. As they believed the men were about to drive some stock off a grazing farm they chased them, and it is stated that the party fired two shots at the police. The men escaped in the darkness.—*Irish Times*, April 27.

April 25—Co. Longford.—A large force of police was gathered at Killashee for the purpose of protecting a Mr. W. Jones, of Rapparee Hill, who is unpopular because he has taken a grazing farm. Crowds, headed by a band, were proceeding in the direction of Mr. Jones' place, when they were turned back by the police. Sticks were used by the crowd, and the police made a baton charge and dispersed them. In the fight a sergeant was injured.—*Irish Times*, April 27.

April 25—Co. Roscommon.—A disturbance took place at Lisadurn, near Elphin. A public meeting was announced to be held in connection with some grazing lands. From a very early hour a force of about 100 police were on the scene, and on the arrival of the contingents the District Inspector in charge of the police informed the leaders that the meeting would not be allowed. The crowd threw stones and a hand-to-hand conflict ensued. The mob then captured the police transport car and several speakers addressed the meeting from it, the crowd meanwhile preventing the police from recovering their car until the conclusion of the meeting, when it was handed back to them.—*Irish Times*, April 27.

April 26—Co. Waterford.—Patrick Haley was again brought before a special court at Tranmore, on a charge of intimidation (see IRISH FACTS, April 20). He was bound over to be of good behaviour for 12 months.—*Irish Times*, April 27.

April 27—Co. Galway.—The two men arrested and charged with the murder of the late Constable Goldrick (see IRISH FACTS, March 21), were again brought up, and after further evidence was taken, were committed for trial at the Summer Assizes.—*Irish Times*, April 28.

April 28—Co. Galway.—A man named James Hogan who held farms on the 11 months' system at Ballindorey died suddenly when entering a barn. For some time past he had been annoyed with threatening notices in connection with his two holdings, and was obliged to give one up. This however did not satisfy his agitators, who called upon him to relinquish the other holding which was the only support of himself, his wife, and eight children. He complained a few days ago that he was unable to bear the strain put upon him by the persecution, and shortly afterwards walked out of the house and dropped dead as reported.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 3.

April 28—Co. Galway.—A man named Thomas Burke, from Killina, was returning home from Kinvara in the evening, when shots were fired at him, several pellets entering his back and sides.—*Dublin Daily Express*, April 30.

April 30—Co. Galway.—A cattle drive took place at a place called Carrowmonish, near Oranmore. The police recovered the animals and subsequently arrested two men named John and Thomas Neland, who were brought before a magistrate at a special court at Galway. Both prisoners were bound over to keep the peace for 12 months.—*Freeman's Journal*, May 3.

May 1—Co. Mayo.—A bailiff of the Murphy estate attempted to serve notices on a number of tenants, when he was met by a crowd near the village of Abbeytown who shouted and groaned at him, and as he entered a house, sticks were freely used, while mud and rotten eggs were thrown in showers, and the bailiff had to seek the aid of the police. It appears that the tenants were unwilling to pay any rent owing, pending a sale between the landlord and tenants.—*Connacht Champion*, May 8.

May 1—Co. Longford.—As a sequel to the disturbance at Rapparee Hill (see IRISH FACTS, April 25), Mr. W. Jones and his two sons were driving home from Longford market, when a large crowd surrounded the trap and threw stones at the occupants, Mr. Jones being struck on the head. A number of police arrived on the scene, and Mr. Jones was able to resume his journey.—*Irish Times*, May 4.

May 1—Co. Galway.—The sheep belonging to a man named Frank Curran were driven off a farm at a place called Glenasceaul.—*Irish Times*, May 3.

May 1—Co. Clare.—A shooting outrage occurred at a place called Ballylisheen, where the house of a farmer named O'Donoghue was fired into. The windows of the room in which O'Donoghue's son and a servant

were sleeping were riddled with bullets, but the occupants escaped injury. A dispute over land is supposed to supply the motive.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 5.

May 2—Co. Roscommon.—The cattle belonging to a man named Geoghegan were driven off a farm at Mount William.—*Freeman's Journal*, May 4.

May 3—Co. Longford.—A correspondent of the *Dublin Daily Express* reports that a few days ago some men were putting cattle out to graze on a farm at Ballinakill, when they were met by a crowd who threatened them not to put their stock on the farm. The attempt to do so was abandoned.

May 5—Co. Clare.—A correspondent of the *Dublin Daily Express* reports that a number of cattle-drives have taken place in different parts of the county.

At Cappanapensta, four horses and 48 head of cattle were driven off the land they were grazing on, the gates being broken.

At Aughavinnerne a number of bullocks belonging to a Mr. W. J. Corbett were driven off their grazing land.

Two drives took place in the Corofin district, 12 head of cattle and 64 sheep, belonging to a Mr. J. Kenny, and a number of sheep and horses belonging to a Mr. J. Murphy, were driven off. Last year Mr. Murphy was fired at and wounded in the head.

May 5—Co. Leitrim.—At a hearing in the King's Bench Division, Dublin, in the case of a summons for arrears of rent the solicitor for the prosecution stated that a few days ago a large mob in the Barony of Dromahaire met a process server who was going to serve writs on the tenants, and they caused him to retire by threats and violence. It was impossible to get any of the tenants served, and it was not safe for the process server to attempt personally to serve the writs, unless he was protected by the police. The process server was afraid to enter the district, and counsel asked for an order to substitute service. Mr. Justice Kenny directed that the writs be served by posting copies of them at the nearest police station.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 6.

May 5—Co. Limerick.—A serious disturbance took place at Port Wartarbary, near Cappamore. A dispute occurred over the sale of the Lloyd estate and the police had to be called in to intervene. Two villagers were stabbed, one seriously. The police were pelted with stones and had to draw their batons to disperse the crowd. The District Inspector and some constables were struck with stones.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 7.

May 5—Co. Galway.—A body of tenants on the Lynch Staunton estate proceeded to a grazing farm held by a Mr. Patrick Lee of Windfort, collected all the cattle, drove them a distance of a few miles, and delivered them up to the farmer, with a notice that they were not to be put on the farm again. Mr. Lee some time ago was called upon to surrender his farm, but he persistently refused, and in consequence has been rigidly boycotted. The police arrested 18 men, and they were brought before a magistrate, who bound them over to be of good behaviour.—*Western People*, May 15.

May 7—Co. Galway.—At the court house, Tuam, nine persons, including two women, were brought before a magistrate for driving 66 sheep and 25 head of cattle, belonging to Mr. Thomas Healey, of Cloonsheen, who holds a farm on the 11 months system. They all entered into bail to be of good behaviour for the next 12 months.—*Irish Times*, May 8.

May 10—Co. Galway.—At Tuam Petty Sessions, Thomas Goggles was charged with intimidating one Michael Melia. Evidence was given that the plaintiff worked for a man named Hoverty at Kilcreevanty, and that defendant warned him not to work for Hoverty any more. Owing to these threats, he (Melia) ceased the work. The case was adjourned for 16 weeks.—*Western People*, May 15.

May 12—Co. Longford.—An extensive cattle drive took place at night on the property of Mr. Harris Martin, of Kilashel. The land, which has been the subject of much friction between the landlord and tenants, has for some months been guarded night and day by the police.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 14.

May 12—Co. Westmeath.—A sensational shooting outrage occurred at a place called Ballymacleery. It appears that the house of Mr. John Malphy, a farmer, was fired into, no less than 15 shots being fired. The Malphys retired to bed about 11 p.m., and were aroused by hearing people outside their house. Several shots were immediately fired and all the windows in the house were broken and the hall door riddled with shot. None of the occupants, however, were injured.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 14.

May 12—Co. Tipperary.—At a special court in the police barracks, Thurles, James O'Connell was charged with firing from a railway carriage on a train between Thurles and Goold's Cross Stations. The guard of the train deposed that he heard shots fired, and on looking out of his van saw a man thrust a revolver through the carriage window; the man continued firing no less than seven shots in different directions, one at a man and a horse ploughing in a field, and another in the direction of the guard's van. The accused was remanded for eight days.—*Dublin Daily Express* May 15.

May 13—Co. Leitrim.—In the King's Bench Division, Dublin, before Mr. Justice Boyd, Mr. Hynes applied for liberty to substitute service of writ of summons on P. M'Portland, a tenant on the estate of Mr. J. Benson, by posting same on the nearest police barracks. It was stated that the district was in a most disturbed state, and whenever the process server went to serve writs, he was met by a large crowd of people armed with sticks, spades, and grapes, who stopped him and prevented him from serving a single writ. Mr. Justice Boyd granted the application on the terms asked for. Liberty was also given to serve two writs on the Marsham estate in the same district in a similar way.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 14.

May 13—Co. Longford.—In connection with the disturbances at Killashee (see IRISH FACTS, April 25), the police arrested 16 persons in the district and conveyed them to Newtownforbes, where they were charged with causing a breach of the peace on April 25. The public were excluded from the court and a strong force of police were in the vicinity. Nine of the accused were bound over to be of good behaviour or to go to prison for one month. All the convicted men, except one, refused to give bail and were conveyed to prison, two bands playing the train out of the railway station. The rest of the accused were discharged.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 14.

May 13—Co. Sligo.—In Nisi Prius Court, before the Lord Chief Justice and a County Dublin Common Jury, 17 men were charged with having by means of intimidation attempted to compel certain Protestant farmers in the village of Riverstown to become members of the United Irish League, and to subscribe to the funds of the organisation. The hearing of the case was not completed until the next day, when the jury, after two hours' absence, announced that they could not agree.

The prisoners were bound over to appear at the next Petty Sessions at Riverstown to enter into further recognizances to take their trial on receiving notice.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 15.

May 15—Co. Mayo.—A correspondent of the *Irish Times* reports that some days ago a Mr. Fahy was taking over possession of some farms at Islandeady when a hostile demonstration took place, he being loudly groaned at by a crowd of people. He was followed a considerable distance along the road leading to his home by the mob, who persistently kept up an attitude of disapproval. As a result of the occurrence, 14 men were arrested and summoned to appear at Westport Petty Sessions on the 20th May.

May 15—Co. Tipperary.—At Thurles Petty Sessions a man named Philip Leahy was charged with having wilfully and maliciously damaged a gate, the property of Mrs. Hanorah Hogan, at Ballyvourneen. The Bench fined defendant 5s., and allowed 5s. compensation and 7s. costs.

Mrs. Hogan occupied a farm from which a former tenant had been evicted. Some time ago she was called before a branch of the United Irish League to show why a portion of the farm should not be divided amongst other parties who had an eye on it, but she refused to give way to their demands; consequently they prevented her from putting cattle on the farm, and the windows of her house were smashed.—*Irish Times*, May 17.

May 15—Co. Tipperary.—At the Nenagh Petty Sessions, 17 men were charged with having been guilty of disorderly and intimidatory conduct at Knigh on May 9. The case was adjourned for three months.—*Irish Times*, May 17.

May 15—Co. Galway.—At a special Court of Petty Sessions held at Galway, a man named Michael O'Dea was charged with attempting to murder Thomas Burke at Kinvara on April 28. The prisoner was returned for trial, bail being refused.—*Irish Times*, May 17.

May 16—Co. Leitrim.—In the King's Bench Division, Dublin, application was made by Mr. Henry West for an order for substitution of service of writ of summons in 12 cases. Actions were brought for the recovery of rent. Defendants lived in the Ballinglearagh district, which was in a very disorderly state. On April 29 a process server went to the district to serve writs, and on his approach was met by a large threatening crowd carrying scythes, pitchforks, and sticks. The people were very threatening in their demeanour, their object being to prevent him from serving the writs. He was unable to serve any of them without imminent danger of his life, and had to return to Drumkeerin.

Mr. Justice Boyd made an order for the writs to be served at the nearest police barracks.—*Irish Times*, May 17.

May 17—Co. Roscommon.—In connection with a recent disturbance on the Potts estate, arising out of the tenants' refusal to pay their rents, a protection hut to accommodate 20 police has been erected. At the Roscommon Quarter Sessions it was stated that service of the civil bills had to be effected by posting them on the nearest Court-house, as the process server had been threatened. The process server stated that when he attempted to serve the writs he was met by a crowd, who threatened to shoot him if he approached the houses.

His Honour Judge Wakely accepted the substitution of the service and said the process server had reasonable apprehension of danger to his life.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 20.

May 17—King's County.—At Roscrea Petty Sessions, George Sutton and Nora Sutton, husband and wife, were charged with maliciously injuring a gate, the property of a Mrs. Quinlan. Evidence was given that complainant's cattle had been repeatedly driven off the land and gates were pulled down. Mrs. Sutton was discharged, the other defendant being fined £1 and costs, or 14 days' imprisonment. He refused to pay the fine, and was committed to Clonmel Gaol. A crowd assembled at the railway station and cheered Sutton.

During the hearing of the case, Mr. Bridge, the defending counsel, said that if these people wished to adopt cattle-driving as a method of asserting their rights, they did it following the advice of people of greater intelligence—Cabinet Ministers, Members of Parliament, and others.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 18.

May 19—Co. Tipperary.—At the Templemore Petty Sessions, Thomas Ryan was charged with assaulting a Mrs. Mary Fanning, of Killanagan, on May 12. Mrs. Fanning deposed that on the night of the date in question her husband was away, and Ryan rode into the yard on horseback and struck her a blow with a stick on the head. The defendant was ordered to give bail for future good behaviour, or in default two months' imprisonment. He refused to give the bail.

The solicitor for the prosecution said defendant was one of a crowd who had been frequently before the Bench in consequence of a disturbance over the farm.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 20.

May 19—Co. Tipperary.—At the same Petty Sessions, and on the same date, Joseph Meehan was bound over to keep the peace for using threats towards Patrick Stapleton, of Dromard. A dispute arose over a small farm, and Meehan threatened to cut Stapleton's head off. The defendant refused to give bail, and said he would go to gaol for honesty.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 20.

May 19—Co. Roscommon.—An extensive cattle-drive took place near Roscommon on a large grazing farm which has been the subject of prolonged dispute between landlord and tenants.—*Northern Whig*, May 21.

May 21—Co. West Meath.—A correspondent of the *Dublin Daily Express* writes that a three-storey residence at Ballycumber has been burnt to the ground. A Mrs. Rachael Bryan was evicted from the house last November, and a caretaker was installed under police protection until it was purchased recently by a Mr. John Stone, of Lurgan, when the house was vacated. A claim has been lodged.

FOSTERING DISLOYALTY IN IRELAND.

The Irish-American "Alliance."

On the 10th of April, the disloyal element of the population of Dublin did itself the honour of publicly welcoming, with the usual torch-light, band-and-banner procession and public meeting reception, an interesting American "deputation," the members of which charge themselves with the task of "bringing about the freedom of Ireland." The "deputation" consists of Mr. Mathew Cummings, National President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America, accompanied by the Rev. P. H. O'Donnell, State Chaplain of the Order for Massachusetts, the official description of their "mission" being a "proposal to unite the various divisions of the Ancient Order of Hibernians into one organisation." To the ordinary reader of the papers, the sinister significance of the visit of these gentlemen to these Islands cannot be manifest, but anyone who is acquainted with the history of the "Ancient Order" in America during the past twenty-five years, and who has followed the development of "Hibernianism" in Ireland since 1894, must regard with the gravest alarm any possible alliance between the two movements. In America, the "Ancient Order" has always been the most vigorous exponent of extreme anti-British feeling, while the kindred body in Ireland has, as an essential part of its secret propaganda, the active spread of arrogant and aggressive disloyalty to Great Britain. According to Mr. Michael Davitt, the "Ancient Order," which Mr. Mathew Cummings represents in the contemplated "amalgamation scheme," was founded by the Irish Ribbonmen who emigrated to America after the great Famine of 1846-7. The Ribbonmen embodied, perhaps, the most vile and merciless conspirators of the whole of the last century in Ireland, and the crimes committed by them still bring a shudder to old men and women, who remember the horrors of their *régime*. Mr. Davitt, in his "Fall of Feudalism in Ireland," p. 42, says: "The Ribbonmen carried their organisation with them when, in the great emigration which followed the famine years, they went, with millions of their race, to the United States, Great Britain, and Canada. The Ancient Order of Hibernians, now perhaps the most powerful pro-Celtic organisation in the world, was the Transatlantic offspring of Ribbonmen in Ireland. . . . But no association of Irish-American citizens rendered more loyal or more pecuniary assistance to the Land League movement, and to Mr. Parnell's parliamentary party, than the divisions of the Ancient Order of Hibernians of America," and again on p. 252: "The best friends of the Land League in these cities were the members of existing Irish-American organisations, like the Clan-na-Gael, and the Ancient Order of Hibernians." The evidence of so unexceptional authority may be accepted as defining the general character of the "Order."

The Irish Parliamentary Party, which has always received certain much-needed financial support from the "Ancient Order" in America, would no doubt maintain on an English platform that this body is a

purely benevolent association, but certainly its more militant functions and its distinctly emphatic opposition to everything English are not merely common knowledge in America, but are proudly avowed by its own leaders. But the object of this article is to show that Mr. Mathew Cummings and the Rev. Mr. O'Donnell do not merely represent the "Ancient Order" on their interesting visit to Ireland, but a much more subtle and dangerous influence, namely, the Clan-na-Gael; and the people of this country will do well to watch carefully the attitude of the official Nationalists as well as the various other Irish movements towards Mr. Cummings and his reverend colleague.

For several years past, there has been a very strongly marked division of opinion in the "Ancient Order" with reference to Irish Nationalism, one section strongly adhering to old Clan-na-Gael movement, which has still a numerous membership and far-reaching influence in most of the States, and the other attaching itself to Redmondite policy, as expressed by the United Irish League of America. Needless to say, from year to year frantic efforts were made to secure control of "the greatest pro-Celtic organisation in the world" by the one body and the other. The United Irish League, however, was uniformly unsuccessful in ousting the rival society of revolutionaries up to the last "National Congress" of the "Order," when the wire-pulling tactics of the Clan-na-Gael hopelessly out-manœuvred the Redmondite faction, and Mr. Mathew Cummings and his colleagues on the "National Council" were duly installed as the triumphant manifestation of the supremacy of the "extreme" section in the government of the "Order," including, of course, its immense funds, its newspaper, and its vast net-work of branches. Anyone who cares to read the *Irish World*, Mr. Patrick Ford's newspaper, as representing Mr. Redmond's American sympathisers, and the *Gaelic American*, Mr. John Devoy's "organ" of unabated Fenianism, during the last three months of the past year, will have some notion of the political storm which was created by the "capture" of the Order, and, incidentally, many interesting and picturesque views of the methods of Irish-American newspaper criticism.

Since the interesting incident referred to, the line of demarcation between the "Clan" and the "Order" has been practically obliterated, and the innocent-looking device of "amalgamating" the "Hibernian" movement in Ireland—which Mr. T. M. Healy in his characteristic manner has described as the "Molly Maguires"—with the American "Order," is really nothing more nor less than the creation of direct relationship between Fenianism and a secret anti-British organisation, which is rapidly making headway in every parish in the North and West of Ireland. The Irish "Hibernians," some years ago, succeeded in obtaining the sanction of the Roman Catholic Bishops for their operations, and at a conference at Letterkenny, received what was the equivalent to the *imprimatur* of Dr. O'Donnell, the Bishop of Raphoe; but only a few months since, Cardinal Logue was obliged to call public attention to the evil results which followed the establishment of "Hibernian" branches among the people. The grand panjandrum of the new "Order" in Ireland is Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., who is at the same time Secretary of the United Irish League.

To those who love Ireland, and see the greatness of its future in its closer approach to the heart of the Empire, the advent of American

emissaries, with the undisguised object of perpetuating organised disloyalty, will be regarded with the gravest concern; and the present position is rendered the more deplorable owing to the open disregard of the law of the land in so many parts of Ireland for many months past. The official delegates of the "Ancient Order"-cum-"Clan-na-Gael" will no doubt reap a rich harvest of "affiliated brotherhood" in those districts where life and property have been at the mercy of the cattle-drivers during the past two years.

Two interesting questions suggest themselves at once, arising out of the presence of official representatives of the Clan-na-Gael in Dublin: (1) What will the Irish Hierarchy do? and (2) what will the Irish Parliamentary Party do? The Bishops unquestionably already perceive that they made a ghastly blunder in permitting secret societies to obtain a foothold among their young men, and the recent unqualified condemnation of the "Hibernians" by the Archbishop of Glasgow, is not very consoling testimony of their wisdom; but the possible "Americanisation" of such societies on the principles familiar to every Roman Catholic clergyman, as expounded by the Fenians, and which the Church most explicitly repudiated, must cause grave alarm in every "palace" and "presbytery" in the country. Will the Bishops permit an alliance, which aims at the formation of a vast international secret association of Roman Catholic Irishmen and Roman Catholics of Irish descent, being formed, with "Ireland's freedom" as its authorised pass-word under the domination of and depending for its finances upon the executive of the Clan-na-Gael? Mr. Redmond and his party are in a still more pitiable plight. The "Clan" have long since declared war upon the Irish parliamentarians, but the "Ancient Order," which is now the foster-child of the "Clan," has been a generous contributor to the "party funds." In Ireland, Mr. Redmond has had many worries with the Irish "Hibernians" and was obliged to withdraw the candidate of the "Order" in Monaghan to placate the priests. What will he do now with the Secretary of his own organisation the real dictator of the "Order" in Ireland?

It may be that a *modus vivendi* will be arrived at, as the Americans have the power of the purse, and will play that trump card for all it is worth. Mr. Redmond is very plastic material in the hands of Mr. Devlin, who, by the way, is regarded as a possible leader in the event of Mr. Redmond's retirement, and at the game of politics as played in Ireland Mr. Devlin is as clever as he is unscrupulous. It may be, perhaps, that the Bishops will be cajoled into their usual quasi-recognition of political trickery on the plea of the alleged "benevolent" character of the "Ancient Order," but those who know American methods need no assurance that the "delegates" are not in this country for "benevolent" purposes. The Gaelic League is arranging a special reception for Messrs. Cummings and O'Donnell, and when its attention is called to the fact that it is a non-political body, it hastens to explain that the action is one of gratitude for financial support. We all know in Ireland the exact estimate to put upon this "explanation."

Will the Government take care to inform itself of the proceedings between the "Clan" and Mr. Devlin, M.P., or will Mr. Birrell regard it as part of the policy of governing Ireland, "according to Irish ideas,"

to foster the extension of a secret movement in Ireland in consultation with a powerful Transatlantic Society, which prides itself on being the eternal enemy of the British Empire? A new and terrible element is being insinuated into the turbulent waters of Irish social life which is as abhorrent to those who wish well to Ireland as it is dangerous to the welfare and prestige of the Empire. It cannot be overlooked that the proposed "amalgamation" will be used in the future against this country should international complications arise, when the "Clan" and the "Order" and the "Irish Hibernians" may be used as useful instruments in the Tammany methods of American politics. The attitude of the Government, the Irish priesthood, and the Irish Party towards this most recent "plan of campaign" will be an interesting study.

WHO WANTS HOME RULE?

If an Irishman were asked the question: "Do you want Home Rule?" he, being Irish, is entitled to answer: "Why shouldn't I?" There are many reasons why he should not desire further decentralisation of authority; and the Irishman, being a logical person, although impulsive and easily led, will soon realise that it is no longer wise to be agitated by the glamour of an unrealisable ideal. In considering any political problem, it is all-important to consider the spirit of the age. The spirit of the present age is commercial, and Ireland is as much under its influence as any other country. The heroic age is apparently gone for ever, and material interests are paramount. Whatever hereditary hatred of England may be supposed to exist in Ireland, it is safe to ignore its influence when pitted against material prosperity; no country, situated as Ireland is, can subsist on hatred of or hostility to England.

Home Rule is a problem with which every country is at present confronted. The masses are engaged in a world-wide struggle with the classes for political power and wealth. In Ireland the struggle is so complicated by racial and religious influences that it is very difficult to distinguish the opposing forces, for interests which are allied by religion are divorced by material considerations, though this division of force and waste of energy may not always continue. There are, besides, independent disruptive elements at work; and it may be some time before the combatants disengage themselves from the existing mêlée, and form themselves into two distinct and opposing camps.

Ireland, like other countries, is committed to a democratic destiny. Its people have a liberal franchise, which they will eventually learn to use in accordance with their own independent judgment. At present, however, this is not the case. Except in a few constituencies in Dublin and Ulster which return Unionists, the "will of the people" is a resultant of the dictates of the United Irish League. The Irish are a boss-ridden people, whether in their own country or in America, and "public opinion" as understood in England is non-existent. I will give a typical example of this. The Local Government elections are about to take place, and the United Irish League is busy nominating candidates. I quote from the speech of the Chairman, Mr. J. P. Farrell, M.P., at a meeting called for this purpose, and reported in the speaker's own paper:—

"He was of opinion that they should now, as always, since the Local Government Act came into operation, and since the United Irish League had got the balance of power in this country, make the United Irish League the test in these elections—(hear, hear)—and that a man who was not a member of the League for at least two years should be *debarred from seeking the suffrages of the Local Government elections just as he would in Parliamentary elections.*"
The italics are mine.

The net of the League is spread wide; the mesh is too small to get through, and too strong to break. The description of the League as "holding the balance of power" is really too modest. If there were other organisations which threatened its supremacy, and these proceedings were merely those of a glorified Trades Union, there might be a chance that the League represented the real opinion of a section of the community; but it must be remembered that outside Ulster and Dublin the League has no rival sufficiently formidable to dispute its omnipotence effectually. Under the sway of the League, uncontested elections are the rule, and anyone daring to come forward as an independent candidate at once becomes "obnoxious" to the League, and it is very unsafe to be "obnoxious" to that organisation. The doctrines of self-reliance and independence preached by "Sinn Fein" are, of course, extremely distasteful to the League, and are ruthlessly combated. The League only nominates candidates whose servility and pliability are assured; and, as Mr. Healy has said, the majority of the Irish Nationalist Parliamentary Party consists of men who lack the qualities which should be found in an Urban or District Councillor. It is idle to talk of the "will of the Irish people" as represented by such men. An increasing number of Irishmen are beginning to have opinions of their own, which are diametrically opposed to their *supposed* ideas as set forth by their representatives, and it is not too much to hope that they will eventually insist on being represented by persons who will give them expression. At present, however, handicapped by their past, they lack the moral courage to do so, and such is the power and prestige of the League that one man in a parish is able by means of its machinery to violate the feelings of the rest of the community, who know that his actions are dictated by selfish motives.

I will give an example of what I mean from facts which I have myself verified on the spot. There is a demesne which the owner desires to let on the 11 months' system for grazing. (I may mention that the demesnes of gentlemen who live on them and give employment in their upkeep are supposed to be exempted from the anti-ranching movement, although in many cases this rule has been more honoured in the breach than in the observance.) In this case, the local branch of the League passed the following resolution:—"That we strongly condemn and shall oppose to the utmost of our power the sending of cattle, not only by the 11 months but by the six months or any term whatsoever, to the following ranches," and here follow three names, including that of the demesne in question. In this case the boycott was declared through the influence of one man, who was actuated only by self-interest. Some of the demesne had been let for grazing, and he coveted part of a division of it, adjoining his farm, which another man had taken. He made overtures to this man to go shares with him, but he refused; so, either in the hope of terrorising him into acquiescence or as a means of punishment if this failed, he decided to have recourse to the League, and was instrumental in passing the resolution I have quoted. The owner of the demesne is deservedly popular, and much indignation was privately expressed by his neighbours, who showed that they were fully aware of the motives of the man, actuated as he was merely by the desire of personal profit. Yet, though they all were members of the League, not one man had the moral courage to oppose the resolution or to voice the opinion of the majority, who were anxious that it should be rescinded; and so it remains on the minutes of the League, a glaring misrepresentation of the sentiments of the community.

Private spite and the cupidity of an individual are constantly responsible for the tyranny of the League, which might naturally be expected to be moved only by collective motives. The lack of moral courage and thinking capacity of a vast number of Irishmen are due to their habit of allowing their opinions to be manufactured for them by their bosses. Public opinion in the sense in which it is understood in England is an impossibility.

We must now consider the attitude of the Irish Parliamentary party towards Home Rule at the present juncture. Mr. John Redmond is the titular leader of a "pledge bound" party. At Westminster the unanimity of his followers in the division lobby is unvarying, but, for all that, there are rifts within the political lute which do not enhance the harmony of the private concerts of the party, and though the jarring notes are suppressed when the audience is English, the discord makes itself plainly heard in Ireland.

It is necessary to go back a year in order to find the key of the present situation. In his account of what happened at the meeting of the Irish Parliamentary party in Dublin last April, Mr. William O'Brien gave us an intimate glimpse behind the scenes which is most illuminating. He reported himself as saying:—

"What we have to discuss is neither more nor less than the whole question of how we are to bring about the abolition of land-lordism in our time. Now I hope I will not offend anyone—I certainly do not intend to do so—if I urge that the first question upon which we have to make up our minds clearly one way or other is whether we do or do not want to have the agrarian difficulty settled—whether we do or do not want land purchase to go on. Well, I don't for a moment impeach the motives of certain honourable and high-minded Irishmen, who hold the view that land purchase is a curse and a misfortune to the National cause—that a condition of agrarian disturbance is our best leverage for winning Home Rule. There is a great deal to be said for that point of view, but that that view is held by some Irishmen of influence I should have no difficulty in proving from their own declarations, only that the discussion might lead us into delicate topics. But as practical men we have got to make up our minds whether that is our view or not. You cannot have it both ways; you cannot have the advantages of land purchase and kill it."

The first thing which strikes the impartial observer is the incredibly callous indifference to the national welfare shown by Ireland's chosen representatives. Everyone knows what misery is produced by an "agrarian agitation" which makes the country "ungovernable." This operation consists in letting loose and inflaming the worst passions of an ignorant people, who inflict acute suffering and disgrace on their country. The torture and terrorism accompanying the making of the country "ungovernable" are only too well-known. To his credit, be it said that Mr. William O'Brien was strongly opposed to this reprehensible policy. He wished to secure the smooth working of the Land Act of 1903, and to remove or mitigate the financial difficulties in its way:

"For, if we succeeded in settling the land question among Irishmen themselves, we would have a more victorious argument for Home Rule than a thousand Parliamentary debates or electioneering manœuvres could give us."

but Mr. O'Brien's argument fell on deaf ears, and a large majority of "honourable and high-minded" Irishmen among the people's representatives decided against it. The idea of a peaceful and prosperous Ireland has no attraction for these patriots. It would cut the ground from under the perpetual agrarian agitation and unrest which they are determined to maintain at all costs, and apparently without regard for the moral or material welfare of their country. Their excuse for this pernicious policy is that, by making the Government of Ireland difficult or impossible, they are preparing the way for that larger measure of Home Rule which they profess to believe is of paramount importance to the development of the country on national lines; though so far their definition of what they mean by it has been studiously vague, and is rather an appeal to popular imagination and its patriotic aspirations than an attempt to formulate a coherent and concrete scheme which would commend itself to the sober judgment of the English nation. They are perfectly aware that the completion of the transfer of the land to the tenants will remove the main lever of their agitation; that, when the half million of peasant proprietors have acquired a substantial stake in the country, the bait of Home Rule will offer few attractions; that doubts will inevitably arise with regard to the stability of a Government which can no longer extract unlimited credit from England, and whose main source of supply for an Exchequer—depleted by rash experiments in expenditure—must be taxation of the land, which the new owners would naturally resent as an added burden to their recently acquired property. Apart from their natural apprehensions as to the future, they are already beginning to groan at the extra expense due to their own mismanagement of local affairs.

It is perfectly safe to say that so far from wanting an extension of self-government the responsible ratepayers would much rather see the Local Government Act repealed and a return to the old Grand Jury system. The growth and development of this frame of mind would be fatal to the interests of the Parliamentary leaders, whose occupation would be gone, unless they proceeded to organise the labourers and working-classes against the farmers, who are gradually becoming landowners with the help of the British taxpayer. They evidently clearly recognise this grave risk to their position in their refusal to pass Mr. O'Brien's resolution:

"That we hereby declare that the party is prepared to appoint representatives to confer with representatives of the Irish landlords with a view to considering measures by which an indefinite postponement of the hopes of the cultivators of the soil can be prevented."

Mr. O'Brien condemns—

"The silly suggestion which we hear constantly, as if it were in some manner an injury and a grievance to the tenants that the landlords have as great an interest as tenants in the settlement of this question. Why, of course they have. This is what makes all the difference in the world from old times, when their selfish interests was to fight

us. Now their selfish interest is embarked in the same boat with the tenants, and both must sink or swim together. It would be a poor way of spiting the landlords to sink the tenants with them."

Quite so; the unnatural instinct of the landlords to hold on to their property having been tamed to such an extent that they are willing to sell their land at a price below its market value—lest a worse thing overtake them—the tenants are to be prevented from completing a bargain which is entirely favourable to them in order to gratify a hereditary spite which they are supposed to entertain against their traditional oppressors. As a matter of fact, no such spite exists. The tenants have taken advantage of every conceivable form of political pressure, supplemented in many parts of the country by criminal outrages, to force the landlords to sell to them at their own price; and in this immoral proceeding they have been led and assisted by their politicians. They are now anxious to secure the ratification of their purchases as soon as possible, and to turn the exploitation of the landlords to profitable account.

Their leaders, however, recognise quite clearly that Mr. O'Brien's suggestion would have the effect of leaving them to lag superfluous on the stage, a fate to which the probable prosperity of their country by no means reconciles them. Let me quote Mr. O'Brien again: He says:—

"Suppose you reject all proposals of peace, and stick to your plan of isolated action by this party alone, I don't like to think what the consequences may be; but time will tell whether they won't be that you will have flung away the best of all arguments for Home Rule—you will have failed to carry any effective Land Act. The result will be a condition of utter chaos in Ireland, which you will have lost all power of controlling. You will have the country estranged from you in a condition of deep resentment and discontent which will be all the more formidable because it is not openly expressed."

It will be noticed that Mr. O'Brien never dreams for a moment that the country would dare to express its "deep resentment" and "discontent" against its representatives openly. Past experience has taught him that such an event is beyond the pale of possibility. The chaos which he prophesied and which is sure to follow the successful wrecking of the Land Act of 1903 has no terrors for the agitators, who live by unrest and disturbance.

Every Irishman who loves his country will wish Mr. O'Brien well in his patriotic efforts to induce his colleagues to allow the landlords and tenants to combine, in order to overcome the final difficulties in the way of a speedy settlement once for all of the old disputes and difficulties by means of the Act of 1903, but it would be injurious to the best interests of Ireland to make this settlement conditional on a promise of an extended measure of self-government, whether in the form of devolution or under any other guise immediately the last estate was sold. The danger to Ireland is that the British public, in a moment of weariness at the interminable demands of the men who, they not unnaturally suppose, represent the wishes of a majority of the Irish people and expecting that their own democratic ideals must be equally suitable for Ireland, may prematurely

concede a larger measure of self-government. I would ask them to remember Dean Dickinson's dictum that "when Ireland is fit for Home Rule she will not want it."

I have said that the majority of intelligent Irishmen of all classes with a stake in their country have no desire for Home Rule, either in the shape of complete autonomy or in any modified form. There are always some Irishmen who, aspiring to secure places of emolument or powers of patronage under an Irish Parliament, are insistent in their demand for the establishment of such in Dublin. These are inspired by simply selfish motives, and need not be considered. There are others who dream of a re-created Irish nationality with a Celtic language, literature, and ideals. These enthusiasts, whose sincerity it is not necessary to question, are living many generations too late for the fulfilment of their dreams. Even if Ireland could be isolated from the influences of this age, her population is not homogeneous either in race or religion, an insuperable barrier in the way of any general application of their ideals. They are, of course, at liberty to study Ireland's history. They may have historical pageants, revive old games, and take the deepest interest in Gaelic literature as individuals and in a non-political spirit; but when they foolishly persist in using these as a lever to secure autonomy, they are not only beating the air, but are prostituting the refining influences of historical and literary research to the exigencies of a modern political movement of a not very sensible or edifying character.

It is impossible for Ireland to resurrect a distinct nationality, as she cannot escape the influence which is having such a disintegrating effect on the continuous and hitherto unbroken nationality of other countries. It would be more sensible, as far as the welfare of Ireland is concerned, to teach Esperanto than Gaelic. In some daily papers in England a portion of a column is devoted to Esperanto, while one Irish daily paper pays a like attention to Gaelic. The former may eventually be of some practical use: the latter never can. We live in a material age, and the contemporary frame of mind is well expressed in the question, "What do I get out of it?" When the Land Purchase Scheme has been completed, the tenant will put this question to the agitator who urges him to subscribe to a movement for a complete or modified form of self-government in Ireland. The tenant, having regard to the risks which he will face in the unknown cost of independent government and the possible mismanagement of Irish affairs by his fellow-countrymen—of which he has already had a taste on a small scale—will ask, "Where do I come in?" and when he is told that his reward will be a revenge for past English injustice and a glorified and triumphant Ireland, he will, in the current phrase, reply, "It is not good enough." As a fact, Home Rule never was "good enough," and it is well that this fact is being thoroughly grasped by the nation at large. Home Rule is not good business. It is commercially and geographically impossible, and is an anachronism in the most literal sense of the word. It is against the tendency of the times and the spirit of the age, and the majority of people in Ireland are sufficiently sensible to recognise this unmistakable fact. I once asked a well-informed Hindu whether the Indians really liked the English, to which, with Oriental politeness, he replied in the affirmative; but on being pressed to express his candid opinion, he said: "We may not love the English, but we don't want India to ourselves, nor do we want any other Power to take the place of England

in India." *Mutatis mutandis*, an Irish Nationalist might use the same words. He may or may not love the English, but he will not allow sentiment to interfere with his determination to carry on his business under the freedom and security which England's protection and English methods of government ensure, and which would certainly be impaired by any leap in the dark in the direction of "Ireland a Nation."

The answer to the Irishman's question, "Why shouldn't I want Home Rule?" is "Why should you?"

The present condition of Ireland is such that the Irish party who are—with the connivance of Mr. Birrell—responsible for it have disgusted every decent Irishman. Their following now consists of the ignorant, the greedy, and the criminal. If England will only take efficient steps to protect law-abiding Irishmen from their ignorant fellow-countrymen, she will rid Ireland for ever from the influence of political adventurers, whose alleged hatred for England has its counterpart in a professed love for Ireland, motives which have always made for the misery of Ireland and the embarrassment of the British Empire.

"SWEATED" INDUSTRIES.

A THREATENED DANGER.

Not the least valuable part of the excellent work which is being done by the Congested Districts Board is that which is concerned with the creation and development of industries, as distinguished from agriculture. A great change has been wrought in the condition of the people in the West of Ireland so far as the tenure and cultivation of the land is concerned; they have not only been rescued from abject and hopeless poverty, but they have been inspired with new ambition, and have been taught that there is something besides the land to which they can look. Some thousands of girls have been helped to get work and taught how to do it. This work is generally connected with textile fabrics, knitting, embroidery, crotchet, and the like. Most of this work is done by hand, but where machinery is employed, as for knitting, the machines are supplied by the Board at cost price. When the work of the pupils is sold by the Board the proceeds are given to the workers without deduction for the cost of teaching. Later, when the period of instruction is over, orders come to the workers through local agents, who are generally country shopkeepers.

This industrial movement is still, of course, in its infancy. It adds no considerable sum to the national wealth, nor does it bring high remuneration to the workers. A girl has to work hard to earn 8s. a week some may make more and some less, according to the style of work but the value of the movement is not to be measured in pounds, shillings, and pence alone. Even on that narrower basis it is not unimportant; a weekly addition of eight shillings, or twice that sum if there be two girls at work, is a considerable gain to the family exchequer; and as a matter of fact we find that where these industries are most followed there has been a large reduction in outdoor relief. But there are other results. The appearance and condition of the homes improve, there is an increase of self-respect, and the foundations of a future industrial population are being laid. A great industry, requiring high technical skill, cannot be created in a single generation. It is the result not only of capital and application, it is also the outcome of hereditary influences. The guilds and close corporations of the Middle Ages, as, for example, the Venetian glass blowers, unconsciously embodied this principle under the appearance of high protection, and we still find it, though in less obvious form, in the attachment of families, generation after generation, to certain highly skilled trades. Even if capital were attracted to Ireland to run factories, the manual skill would still be lacking; but, as a matter of fact, it is important to remember that the geographical position of the Congested Districts, far from coal and ill supplied with railways, is inimical to the establishment of large industrial concerns. The work has to be done mainly by hand, and almost entirely at home. It may, therefore, never be a great industry, but it is doing good to those engaged in it, to the

districts where it is practised, and to the country generally, and should be encouraged.

There are, however, two Bills before Parliament, alike in intention and differing mainly in method, which threaten discouragement to these nascent industries. The object of the Sweated Industries Bill and of the Trades Boards Bill—the latter a Government measure—is to fix a standard wage in certain trades. We need not enter into the machinery by which this is to be accomplished, our present object being to inquire how it may affect the cottage industries of Ireland. Beyond that we do not go. There is, we fear, a good deal of sweating in some of the urban trades. There are, doubtless, many in Dublin, as in London, slaving in sweated industries, who are in every respect worse off than the Chinese of the Rand, on whom so much unnecessary sympathy was wasted. The public conscience is shocked from time to time by the horrors of the sweating system, and many never see the light, and there is a general feeling that some effort must be made to put a period to these distressing conditions of labour. Opinions differ as to the degree of success which legislation can attain, but most opinions agree that the attempt should be made.

There are, nevertheless, two dangers in legislation of this character—that sympathy may push it too far, and that definitions may be made too rigid. Any error in either of these directions may easily inflict grave injury on the cottage industries of Ireland, which have hardly emerged from the spoon-feeding stage, and are far too immature to bear any restrictive interference. The first difficulty, of course, is to define sweating. We shall not attempt the task, for it is our point that no single definition can be made. Varying conditions must make the definition vary. A peasant's daughter in Mayo may get pay for her work, which, given in Whitechapel, would be sweating, and yet her case may need no legislative interference. And yet, it may be found difficult to raise the condition of the worker in Whitechapel, while the worker in Mayo is left free to undercut her minimum wage. To legislate on hard and fast lines for the congested districts of London and Ireland might paralyse the operation of the law in the former and destroy the industries of the latter.

There are also serious difficulties in the way of giving these Acts practical operation in the rural districts of Ireland. The system suggested in the Sweated Industries Bill, of having joint Boards of employers and employed, would be quite unworkable.

It would be practically impossible to establish Wages Boards in these large districts where the workers are sparsely distributed, where they often fill a dual position of employer and employed, and where they are called on to fill orders for special work of passing fashion. The plan of the Trades Boards Bill would be more practicable, but even though it could be made to work, the conditions of competition would prohibit the fixing of any wage higher than at present obtains. Not only is hand embroidery and crotchet work very successfully imitated by machine work, but foreign competitors undersell the home producer. Five years ago Belfast sent 750,000 yards of linen to Japan; in 1906 Japan took over $4\frac{1}{2}$ million yards. The Japanese embroidery is as good as the Irish, there is more of it, and Japan sells the embroidered article nearly 40 per cent. cheaper than the Irish. Teneriffe sells more richly embroidered Irish linen cloths for

7s. 2d. than Donegal can sell for 12s. 6d., and it should be noted that this embroidery from Japan and Teneriffe is all hand made.

It is not our business to analyse the causes of this, or to suggest remedies. If remedies can be found which will enable the industries of Donegal and Mayo to compete with foreigners, well and good, but that is outside our present terms of reference. We enunciate the fact to show that any present increase of wages is impossible. And indeed, more broadly, the industries of which we are writing cannot be described as sweated. We are not going to labour the point; our object being mainly to point out how a promising movement may be hampered and crippled by thoughtless, though benevolent, legislation. The money earned by these people is not much, but it is something. It does not, as is too often the case in the cities, form the whole support of the family; it is an adjunct, and a useful adjunct. If an old woman earns twopence halfpenny by knitting a dozen pairs of stockings, it is a poor wage, but it gives her some simple luxury, earned when she can do nothing else. Eight shillings is a poor average remuneration for 56 hours' work, but it makes a great difference to a family whose annual revenue is perhaps £20. The real difficulty which faces those engaged in industrial development in the congested districts is not to enable the people to earn more, but to enable them to earn anything at all in the face of foreign competition.

For these reasons there is some divergence of opinion among Irish Members as to whether the proposed legislation should be extended to Ireland. But it is difficult to see how Ireland can be omitted entirely from its purview. To permit industrial conditions in Ireland which are prohibited in Great Britain would be to form an Alsatia, to which the sweaters would congregate, and the products of which would undersell those of the regenerated Whitechapel. We should be merely accumulating misery in Dublin, while the poor victims of sweating in Whitechapel would lose even the wretched wage they earn now. It would be bad enough to have to contend with sweated foreign labour, but at least it might be possible to meet them by tariffs. But no such defence could be adopted against the sweated products of Ireland; therefore, Ireland must be included in the operation of the Act. From that it follows that the definition of sweating in Ireland must be highly elastic, and that the net must not be cast too widely to catch the sweaters, if we would preserve the young industries of the West. It is not only the actual financial results of these industries that demand their protection; even more important is the moral and educational value of them to the people. The wages earned in the cottages of the congested districts do not represent the gain to the community which comes from the development of the industrial instinct. It has been too long lacking; we cannot afford, even for the attainment of objects of admitted necessity, to have it stifled at its birth.

It may, of course, be said that the girls who now work at home might migrate to the factories if their home-work was lost to them. If the work cannot come to the workers, why should not the workers go to the work? Well, just because of human nature, of which even economists and philanthropists might take account. The country girl does not willingly leave her cottage for the factory, least of all the Irish girl. The Irish peasant is moored to his cabin by sentimental cables, which, strangely enough, are strongest when the cabin is most poor. Even were these girls willing to go, the clergy would interpose their influence to stop them,

and who shall blame them for fearing to expose one of their flock to the evils of great cities? We must, therefore, find some means by which the law can be made to spare the cheaply-paid industries of the Western peasantry, while striking at urban sweating. The instrument of protection may be found in the Congested Districts Board, by making their assent necessary for the existence of the provisions of the new legislation to the industries within their area. In their knowledge of all the circumstances of the case would be found adequate security against the results which so often follow the operations of well-meaning but unregulated benevolence. Nor need it be apprehended that the immunity of these cottage industries from the Act would have any appreciable effect in weakening its operation in London. Not for a long time will the work of the Western peasantry reach any large dimensions. If it does, measures may be taken to meet the altered conditions. It is not to be taken from what we have said that we are resigned to the low wages which these poor peasants receive. But facts have to be taken as they are. We must let these girls work on at their embroidery or knitting in their own way, or be prepared for their doing no work at all, with all the attendant evils of idleness, poverty, physical and moral deterioration. It is a good thing to have ideals, but it is well to remember that ideals were made for men, not men for ideals.

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1909.**April 30.**—Mr. Redmond at Wolverhampton.**May 2.**—Mr. J. Devlin, M.P., at Ballinasloe.**May 3.**—Lord Lansdowne at meeting of Liberal Union Club, at Hotel Cecil, on Irish affairs.**May 6.**—Annual meeting of Primrose League, Caxton Hall. Speech by Sir Robt. Gresley, on Irish affairs.**May 7.**—Annual meeting of Primrose League, Albert Hall. Speech by Mr. J. H. M. Campbell, M.P., on Irish affairs.**May 9.**—Mr. J. Dillon, M.P., at Swinford.**May 11.**—Mr. J. Redmond at Bolton.**May 17.**—Earl Cawdor, at Annual Conference of Conservative and Unionist Working Men's Club in London, on Irish affairs.**May 21.**—Police Malicious Injuries (Ireland) Bill, Second Reading in the House of Commons.**May 22.**—Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P., at Manchester, on Irish affairs.

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IRISH FACTS.

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CURRENT NOTES.

Ireland and the Budget.

In Ireland, as in the rest of the United Kingdom, the Budget has aroused intense hostility. The Lord Mayor of Dublin has exercised his privilege of appearing in State at the Bar of the House of Commons to present the petition of the Corporation against the Budget. Mr. Redmond's position has not therefore been made easier. Criticism of the inactivity of the Irish Parliamentary Party has been openly indulged in. They indeed appear to be trying to please both their friends in Ireland and their Liberal allies here. Certainly they have not shown unrelenting hostility, and it would seem that they intend to devote their attention to securing benefits for Ireland rather than offer opposition to the Budget as a whole. Whether this will satisfy their supporters in Ireland remains to be seen. The whole question of Ireland's financial grievances under the Budget is to be raised by Mr. Redmond if opportunity offers during the debates in Committee on the Finance Bill.

Denounced but not Opposed.

Speaking at Dungannon, Mr. T. M. Kettle, M.P., described the Budget "as one of revenge disguised as a reform and theft disguised as temperance . . . It has been prepared for Great Britain, and with a complete disregard of Irish conditions. It is a gross violation of the very terms of the Act of Union."

At another meeting he said :—

"We in Ireland have no national independence to protect from foreign invasion. We have no national prosperity to maintain.

"When I consider the whole situation and the whole effect of this measure, I confess I see many reasons for preferring German invasions to British finance.

"This Finance Bill would be fought at every point by the Irish members, and the Liberal Government, with the greatest majority of modern times, would find it was not so easy a task as they anticipated to place this additional burden on the weak and stricken shoulders of Ireland."—*Freeman's Journal*, June 7.

Very brave words from Mr. Kettle in Ireland. But Mr. Kettle at Westminster is a very different person. To June 23 there have been 14 divisions on the Finance Bill in Committee, and in just **one** has Mr. Kettle voted against the Government. This is his idea of "fighting the Finance Bill at every point."

What will Mr. Kettle's constituents say when they hear his record ?

More Disorder.

Speaking in the House of Commons on May 24, Mr. T. Healy, M.P., said :—

“I do not believe if this Budget passes there will be a voice raised in any part of the country for the maintenance of law and order in future, and certainly as far as my voice is concerned I will not raise mine.”—*Parl. Deb.*, col. 872.

Having by disorder intimidated Mr. Birrell to grant their demands for more land, are Irish Nationalists trying to frighten Mr. Lloyd George by the same coercive methods?

Home Rule in being.

At the adjourned meeting of the Dublin Corporation in the Mansion House, on June 15, the Lord Mayor presiding,

Alderman Reigh proposed the following :—

“That the elected representatives of the ratepayers, citizens, manufacturers, traders, and workers of the City of Dublin call upon the five members of Parliament representing our city, to use all the means in their power to oppose the excessive, unjust, and inequitable levy of taxation on this city and our country, as proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget, as we consider we are inequitably over-taxed for Imperial purposes. If proper and equitable concessions be not made we call on our Parliamentary representatives to record their votes against the entire Budget proposals.”

Alderman Dowling seconded the motion.

Mr. Cosgrave: I move as an amendment that this Council have no further confidence in the Irish Party (laughter). In this matter the Irish Party have not given—

Lord Mayor: That is a new motion. I rule it out of order (“Oh, oh”).

Mr. John O’Kelly: Well, I move as an amendment that all reference to Parliamentary action be deleted from this motion. The supposed opposition of the Irish members has been so farcical that we would be degrading ourselves in the eyes of the citizens of Dublin if we were to go and beg to those people.

Mr. O’Kelly was proceeding to say that he was about to expose the dishonesty of the Parliamentary Party, when, amid great disorder, the Lord Mayor ruled the motion out of order.

Mr. O’Kelly (above the shouting): On what grounds? It is because it attacks the Parliamentary Party.

Here Alderman Kelly hurriedly made his way towards the Lord Mayor’s chair, followed by several of his supporters and called out loudly, “We are not going to stand this any longer. We’ll make a bear garden of the place.” (“Oh,” and cheers).

Mr. Sherlock: That has been your policy for years past.

Alderman Kelly (standing beside the Lord Mayor): If you rule it out of order I say you are acting disgracefully. (Loud cries of “Oh.”) The amendment was absolutely in order.

There was a renewed outburst of noise, and Mr. P. O’Carroll said the performance in the chair was a disgrace. “I never,” he said, “saw a man before ordered to hand in his amendment by Dr. M’Walter.”

Mr. D. M'Carthy (who had come close to the Town Clerk, addressing the Lord Mayor): It is hard to have any respect for your authority. You never thought to ask for the amendment until you got your instructions to do so. ("Hear, hear.")

Mr. Cosgrave: You may out-vote us, but give us fair play.

The Lord Mayor: I have ruled the amendment out of order. (Uproar).

Mr. D. M'Carthy: Well, you will do no more business. (Cheers).

A din of indescribable fierceness then arose, above which could be heard cries of "No more submission," and in the midst of the storm the original motion was then put and declared carried by 19 votes to 15.

An attempt was made to proceed with some further business, but it was a failure, and

Mr. Clear (addressing the Lord Mayor) said: I have been sitting here under your ruling for the past five or six months, and I have come to the conclusion you have acted to-day in a most disgraceful manner ("Oh, oh"). He added that if Dr. M'Walter or Mr. Sherlock interfered with an amendment of his he would treat them as they deserved to be treated.

Mr. Sherlock moved that the house adjourn for a week. This was understood to be carried, and the Lord Mayor left the chair, while the sword and mace were removed from the table.

Then there was a violent outburst in the midst of which Mr. T. J. Sheehan and Mr. Brady were seen in handgrips pummelling each other, and a moment later both were observed rolling about the floor of the Council Chamber. In the effort to separate the combatants several of the Councillors were tripped up, and there was a confused mass of legs and chairs about the floor. While this was going on an altercation of a violent character took place between Mr. Sherlock and Mr. O'Carroll, in the course of which blows were struck. There were further efforts to bring about peace, and for a time it looked as if some excited occupants of the gallery would break into the Chamber. Finally some sort of order was restored, and the members—all of whom were excited, and many of whom bore marks of the scuffle—left the Oak Room.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 15.

True to their word the objectors prevented any business being done at a meeting of the Corporation of June 18. There was much uproar, but physical argument was not on this occasion indulged in.

"Liberal Devilism."

Imprisonment has not increased the regard which Mr. Dermot O'Brien, U.I.L. Organiser, has for his leader's allies, the Radical Government.

Replying at Thurles to an address from the New Birmingham Branch of the U.I.L. in which it was stated that "no nation under the sun would tolerate such acts of 'Liberal Devilism' as had been meted out during the past few months," Mr. O'Brien said that:—

"The so-called 'Liberal' Government had been doing hard things in Ireland. They had introduced a Budget that, if the Tories had brought in, there would be holy h——l in the country. Not only were the Government depriving them of the grazing ranches, but they were going to pick the pockets of every man and woman in Ireland. So far as he was concerned he would fight to death's door

against the Government which had deceived Ireland and given them nothing but perjured policemen.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 7.

Mr. O'Brien may talk as much as he likes of his fight against the Government, but he knows well enough that his master, Mr. Redmond, will not allow him to take any such hostile action.

The Land Bill Closed.

In accordance with their usual practice, the Government have, before the date for the Committee stage of the Land Bill is even fixed, forced a drastic closure resolution through the House to prevent the proper discussion of the measure.

One can quite understand the desire of the Government and their Nationalist allies to allow as little debate as possible on this Bill. Freedom of discussion would show up its iniquities and ensure its defeat through the influence of public opinion. As matters now stand, British credit is to be pledged to the extent of £99,000,000 without the representatives of the people being allowed anything like a debate on the Government's proposals.

Eight days are to be allowed to the Committee stage; two days to report; and one day to the third reading. On the fourth day in Committee no less than 20 clauses have to be passed, and 18 have to be passed on the sixth day. Six hours and a half is considered sufficient to discuss the powers to be given the Government for compulsorily expropriating the remaining landlords of Ireland!

Mr. Dillon's Threat.

Speaking in the House of Commons on June 15, Mr. Dillon, M.P., said:—

“I was charged the other day with using an expression, which I did use, at a great meeting in the county of Tipperary—and a pretty lively county it is—to the effect that if this Bill were rejected or closed **we should be obliged to cry havoc and let slip the dogs of war. I repeat that statement in the House to-day.**”—Parliamentary Debates, Col. 924.

An “A.B.C. of Land Purchase.”

Irish Land Purchase is a question full of technicalities, and for that reason often avoided by British politicians. This should not be, for British credit is required to the extent of £200,000,000 to carry out the policy of purchase. It is, therefore, a subject in which British electors ought to feel considerable interest. Recognising this, the Union Defence League have issued an “A.B.C. of Irish Land Purchase,” in which the technicalities are explained, and the main facts set out. Those who wish to follow the coming debates on Mr. Birrell's Bill should have a copy. The price is 2d., and it may be obtained through any bookseller, or direct from the UNION DEFENCE LEAGUE, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

Up for Sale.

Mr. Kettle, M.P., at Dungannon, June 7:—

“Parties in Great Britain were coming to an equality in numbers and in strength, and the Home Rule vote might be the make-weight

in the scales at the General Election and in the House of Commons. **Our price is well known. Our price is Home Rule.**"—*Freeman's Journal*, June 7.

"A Significant Reference."

What the *Freeman's Journal* (May 24) styles "a significant reference" was made to Home Rule by Mr. Churchill in a speech at Manchester on May 24. He said :—

"Whatever the issue at the next general election might be, the Liberal party would not break with its past in regard to the solution of the Irish problem. They had seen in South Africa that their principles rigidly and courageously applied had brought them a reward beyond their dreams. They would not cut themselves off from those steps in relation to the sister island which they believed—if they had an equal amount of good fortune to that which had crowned their policy in South Africa—would render them a source of strength and unity to the British Empire which the Fleet and the Army would not be able to provide."

What possible parallel can there be between giving to the Transvaal a representative constitution and breaking up the United Kingdom by taking away a portion of its representation?

East Limerick Election.

At the by-election consequent upon the death of Mr. Lundon, the Irish Parliamentary Party's candidate was again opposed by an Independent Nationalist. The result was as follows :—

Mr. Thomas Lundon (N.)	2,664
Mr. John Moloney (Ind. N.)	1,686

Majority	978
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Although the official candidate did not, as at Cork, meet with defeat, the blow to the Official Party is hardly less severe when it is remembered that out of 7,473 electors on the register, only 2,664 could be found after a strenuous campaign to support the official candidate.

The American Envoys at Home.

The American envoys from the A.O.H. have returned to the United States. Their time has been employed in denouncing the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party. At Boston, on June 4, Father O'Donnell said :—

"The men who have come here, the men who have preached the Gospel of Home Rule, the men who have called upon us to give our dollars for Home Rule, the men who have lied to us, have been preaching the doctrine that would lead us into the hands of the British.

"If I were to talk politics I could tell a dirtier story of some of the so-called leaders of the party in Ireland than I could tell of the Board of Erin, and God knows that is bad enough."—*Gaelic American*, June 12.

The Irish Parliamentary boycott has embittered Father O'Donnell.

"Ireland a Nation."

Speaking at Kilkenny, Father O'Donnell defined Home Rule as follows :—

"Our idea of nationality is that Ireland should be an absolutely free and independent nation, making her own laws, having her own commerce, having her own army and navy, and as free as the great Republic of the West, and we beyond the sea, united in bonds of brotherhood, in that great spirit of Catholicity will always and ever strive after that ideal."

Father O'Donnell is very indiscreet; no wonder Mr. Redmond avoids him. Had he been longer in Ireland he must have learnt that here it is only permissible to refer to Irish Home Rule as a means of strengthening the British Empire. "Ireland, an independent nation"! Such aspirations are forbidden except in the United States when dollars are wanted to pay M.P.'s here.

Outspoken Hate.

President Cummings, of the A.O.H. of America, at Boston on June 4, said :—

"The best thing the Ancient Order of Hibernians has done is the alliance it has made with the Germans. The one thing to-day that is striking England to the quick is the fear of Germany. . . Every Irishman with red blood in his veins in Ireland will be with Germany. But we want as the result of that war, **a free and independent Irish nation.**"—*Gaelic American*, June 12.

A Rebel Perhaps!

Mr. Clancy, M.P., speaking at a U.I.L. meeting at Garristown on June 6, said :—

"I ask what they have done who are attacking us? What is it they are proposing to do? Do they propose to take up arms and place cannon and rifles in the field and an army of 10,000 or 20,000 men in each of the four provinces? I could understand a policy like that, and if I thought the army were strong enough, I might join it myself."—*Drogheda Independent*, June 12.

It is interesting to know that Mr. Clancy has no moral objection to civil war as a means of gaining Home Rule. We also note that his adherence to the revolt is strictly circumscribed by the rebel army being "strong enough"—we presume to ensure victory. Mr. Clancy is a "patriot" for certain, but he intends to run no risk of being among the defeated. There is nothing like tempering "patriotism" with a prudent regard for oneself.

A Suppressed Letter.

The current number of the *Irish Homestead* reprints from a well-known American paper, *Wallace's Farmer*, which is edited by Mr. Henry Wallace, who was a member of President Roosevelt's Country Life Commission, the following letter written by the President before his resignation to Mr. Bryce, the British Ambassador. Mr. Wallace, who had seen this letter, and who wished to throw some light on the origin of the country life

movement in the States, and to give honour where honour was due, printed it in his paper. The letter was written three months ago. Here it is :—

“White House, Washington.

“Dear Mr. Bryce,—You have, I know, followed with keen interest the work of the Country Life Commission, which has pointed the way, as I think, to a better handling of country problems and a more satisfying life on the farms. But I do not know how far you are acquainted with the origin of the movement in the United States. Of course I have been interested for many years in farm life, and especially in the tasks and troubles of the women on the farm. But my interest did not reach the point of action until I began to follow what was being accomplished through the farmers’ co-operative movement in Ireland. My old friend Horace Plunkett, whom I saw on his periodical journeys to America, kept me informed of the Irish agricultural situation and of the movement for better living on the farms in Ireland. We Americans owe much to Ireland and to Plunkett in the work we have been trying to do in the United States, and before I leave the Presidency I want to acknowledge our debt and to send through you my thanks for the help we have had: and not only our thanks, but the thanks of every man who knows what has been done, and sees the need and the sure results of this great movement to help the men and women who feed the nation and stand at the foundation of its greatness and its progress.—Sincerely yours,

“THEODORE ROOSEVELT.”

In the *Spectator* (June 19), Mr. S. H. Butcher, M.P., writes as follows :

“Various questions asked in Parliament have failed to elicit any clear reason why the letter written by Mr. Roosevelt before he quitted office, and transmitted to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs through the British Ambassador at Washington, has never been published by the Government. Those who have read the questions and answers must have been left in a state of bewilderment. May I with your permission clear up some of the confusions which have arisen. In the House of Commons, on June 10, Mr. Dillon, in a supplementary question asked—‘Is it not a matter of common knowledge that Sir Horace Plunkett published the letter long ago?’ Sir Edward Grey replied—‘All I know is that I have been informed by the British Ambassador that he sent a copy of the letter to Sir Horace Plunkett, and I believe the letter has been published.’ Let me state the actual facts. The suggestion that Sir Horace Plunkett published the letter is the very opposite of the truth. The letter was first published in America in *Wallace’s Farmer*, a well-known agricultural journal. From this paper it got into the *Irish Homestead*, where it made its first appearance in the Press of the United Kingdom some weeks ago. It is true that a copy of Mr. Roosevelt’s letter was enclosed to Sir Horace Plunkett in a private communication from Mr. Bryce, who for the last twenty years has been deeply interested in his Irish efforts. In March Sir Horace Plunkett showed me Mr. Bryce’s letter in strict privacy, and consulted me as to his proper course of action. He was of opinion, and I entirely concurred, that he was not free to make any public use of Mr. Roosevelt’s letter, as it was not addressed to him. Sir Horace would have wished, had it been possible, to omit that part of the letter which was a personal tribute to himself, and

publish the sentences which contained so encouraging a recognition of the help the President had received from many who had worked together in Ireland for the social and economic improvement of the country. But the form of Mr. Bryce's letter—so it seemed to us—precluded not only a partial publication, but also the asking of Sir Edward Grey's consent thereto. Clearly it lay in the discretion of the Government to allow the letter to be published or to suppress it; and we now know from Sir Edward Grey's answer in Parliament on June 15th, that Mr. Birrell was called into consultation on the matter. There may have been good grounds for the decision taken, but even in that case it might have been expected that as a matter of courtesy the Foreign Office would have apprised Sir Horace Plunkett of the contents of the letter, and informed him whether he was at liberty or not to make use of it publicly. Sir Horace, hearing nothing, felt that he could not take any step which might even wear the appearance of being a violation of Mr. Bryce's confidence. The outcome of it all is that Mr. Roosevelt's desire, to acknowledge the debt of America 'to Ireland and to Plunkett,' and his generous recognition of the help given by the Irish Co-operative Movement, would never have come to light had it not been for the accident of the editor of an agricultural journal in America having obtained permission to publish in his own paper the President's letter to our Foreign Office. It may be presumed that if the President could have foreseen the manner in which his letter would have been treated he would have written direct to his Irish friend, and allowed him to make such use of the letter as he considered would be of assistance to his work."

Nationalist Intolerance.

We hear a great deal about Nationalist tolerance of political opponents on the local government councils. The Roscrea Rural District Council is composed exclusively of Nationalists and Catholics. Recently there was a vacancy and a member moved that a Conservative and Protestant should be co-opted. **He found no supporter**, and a Nationalist—the son of the chairman—was selected to fill the vacancy.

Mr. Dillon will perhaps note this!

A Boycotted Lecture.

The extremes to which the anti-grazing campaign can be carried were shown recently by the boycotting of a lecture at Bollabawn, near Roscrea. Mr. Tooney, the Agricultural Instructor for the North Tipperary Committee, attended to give the lecture and there were present a large body of farmers. Among those who desired to take advantage of the instruction was Mr. John McHodgins, who had been denounced as an "obnoxious" person by the U.I.L. at Courighaneen for holding grazing land and also for acting as steward to Surgeon-General Roe, who also has grazing land. So completely is the decision of the League enforced that immediately after Mr. Hodgins' arrival the audience began to leave, until after a short time the room was almost completely deserted.

Anti-British Placards.

From the *Dublin Daily Express* (June 15) we learn that there has been a recurrence of posting anti-British placards in Tuam and Macroom. Nearly every house was adorned with placards, and in Tuam even the police barrack did not escape.

The Bill used in Tuam was as follows :—

“ WARNING.

“ Any Irishman who joins the English Army or Navy or the R.I.C., enlists in the service of the enemies of Ireland.

“ HE IS A TRAITOR TO HIS OWN PEOPLE.

“ Let us rout the English from Ireland.”

Valuable Work.

Mr. Birrell having abdicated his duty of protecting people against intimidation and outrage, the Emergency Committee of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland six months ago undertook this primary obligation of all Governments. Col. Maxwell, the Honorary Secretary, has now issued the following report of work done :—

“ Sir,—Six months having now elapsed since the above Committee was re-formed and re-started on a fresh basis, it may interest those of your readers who, having at heart the welfare of their fellow loyalists in various parts of the country, have generously contributed to our funds, to know what we have done, and are doing, and hope to do in the future. Briefly, we are assisting eighteen boycotted farmers by supplying them with labourers, who, owing to the evil influence of and illegal pressure brought to bear by the United Irish League, could not be procured from the usual or any other sources. In carrying out this work we are employing twenty-eight men in four counties. As we only assist such boycotted farmers as are, through rigorous boycott, in financial straits, and are, therefore, unable to pay high wages, it necessarily follows that a very considerable portion of the expense connected with our work falls on us. We have sufficient means at our disposal for our present needs, but as we hope to be able to extend our operations, should circumstances unfortunately render some extension necessary, we trust that your readers may feel disposed to take their part in succouring those who, unable from circumstances over which they have no control to help themselves, would have been forced to succumb to the almost continuous attacks of those who are the avowed enemies of law and order, were it not that we were able to come to their assistance. I may add that more than one Roman Catholic farmer has received, and is receiving, help from my Committee.

“ Yours faithfully,

“ HENRY E. MAXWELL, Colonel.

“ Hon. Sec. Emergency Committee.

“ 10, Rutland Square, Dublin,

“ 10th June, 1909.”

Condition of Co. Clare.

Even Mr. Birrell cannot admit the peaceful condition of Co. Clare notwithstanding the fact that the County Court Judge was recently presented with white gloves, and he has declined to accede to Mr. W. Redmond's request for the withdrawal of the additional police in that county. The following is Mr. Birrell's reply to Mr. Redmond. It was published in the *Clare Champion* (May 8):—

“26th April, 1909.

“Dear Sir,—Mr. Birrell has consulted with the police authorities who are responsible for peace and order in Co. Clare on the subject of extra police in that county, referred to in your letter of the 5th inst., and I am to express his regret that, in present circumstances **he is unable to hold out any hope of a reduction in the extra force in the near future. The fact that recently in one division of the county there were no criminal cases for hearing at Quarter Sessions, cannot be taken as truly representing the state of the county.** The returns of crime show beyond question that **the county is not in that satisfactory condition** which its friends would be glad to see. It is true that some improvement has recently been shown, but there are not yet sufficient grounds for reducing the police. The Government will continue to watch the state of the county, and will take steps for reducing the extra force as soon as they can properly and safely be taken.

“Yours truly,

“C. T. BEARD.”

Events disclosed by Mr. Birrell in reply to a question by Mr. Lonsdale do not bear out Mr. W. Redmond's assertions. At Rineen there is untenanted land which is coveted by the members of a local branch of the U.I.L. Unfortunately for the fulfilment of their desires it is already in the occupation of other people. With the intention of persuading the holders to abandon this land, during the three years—

- 1.—Michael O'Connor has been fired at three times.
- 2.—Michael Casey has been fired at twice.
- 3.—Outside Michael Casey's house shots have been fired twice.
- 4.—John Murphy, being a brother of an occupier, has been fired at once.

The offenders in all these cases have never been brought to justice.

Widespread Cattle-Driving.

As evidence of the widespread nature of the cattle-driving agitation, the following quotation from a speech by Mr. Gwynn, M.P., in the House of Commons, on May 24, will be useful. He said that there was—

“Only one landlord in Meath whose cattle had not been driven in the course of the last two years.”—*Parl. Deb.*, col. 957.

LIFE IN IRELAND.

A Diary of Outrages, etc., under Radical Rule.

"I am not going to palliate or minimise the deplorable state of things which exists in some parts of Ireland. I and my colleagues would be false to our duty and false to our real opinions if we did anything of the kind. I quite admit that there are going on in some parts of Ireland things which are reprehensible, which ought to be put down, which public opinion ought to condemn, and which, so far as the arm of the law is strong enough to reach them, the arm of the law ought never to be slack in reaching and preventing."—Mr. Asquith, House of Commons, February 16.

May 21—Co. Mayo.—At the Westport Petty Sessions, 13 men were charged with intimidating Mr. D. Fahy of Glenisland who purchased two farms in the district lately. Evidence was given that only the presence of the police prevented Mr. Fahy receiving bad treatment. The case was adjourned for six months.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 24.

May 22—Co. Leitrim.—A wanton and malicious outrage was committed late at night at the Cherrybrook Creamery about two miles from Manorhamilton. The windows were broken and one of the entrance doors forced open and smashed apparently with stones. Some of the machinery was taken out and scattered along the public road.—*Irish Times*, May 25.

May 23—Queen's County.—An explosion occurred at Mordubeagh House, Ballylahane. During the evening the occupants of the house, a Mr. Knowles and his family, were startled by a loud report in the lower portion of the dwelling. It was discovered that the window on the ground floor had been smashed, the glass, granite sill, and other debris being scattered about. Nobody, however, was hurt. The police afterwards examined the place and found an empty dynamite cartridge. The affair is stated to have arisen out of a dispute over a farm.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 29.

May 24—Co. Meath.—At a Special Court held at Kells, a labourer of Springville was brought up, having been arrested by a police patrol whilst, it was alleged, he was engaged in cattle driving. The defendant was bound over to keep the peace for 12 months.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 25.

May 26—Co. Roscommon.—At Ballymoe Petty Sessions, nine men, members of the Glensk Branch of the U.I.L. were charged with unlawful assembly on April 26 at Ardagh on the property of Mr. J. Cotton. The court was evenly divided and the case was adjourned for a month.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 27.

May 26—Queen's County.—At the Maryborough Petty Sessions two men, named Michael Walsh and James Bergen, were charged with unlawful assembly at Ballyearnan, and with intimidating one Andrew

Brady on May 13. Both cases were adjourned for four weeks.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 27.

May 27—Co. Clare.—A farmer named Michael O'Connor was the victim of a shooting outrage at a place called Ballogan in the Corofin district. He was searching for some cattle and horses which had been driven off his lands the previous night, and having found some of the animals, was on his way home, when the shots were fired from behind some bushes. Part of the charge struck him on the left side of the head and face.—*Cork Constitution*, May 29.

May 27—Co. Louth.—Eight horses, the property of a Mr. A. Hodgins of Ballydonnel near Killenaule were driven off the lands of Lower Ballingarry.—*Kilkenny People*, June 5.

May 27—Co. Sligo.—At a Special Court held at Ballymote five men were charged with unlawful assembly at Currigeens and Ardree on May 20. Police Constable McCormack gave evidence that he formed part of a patrol on duty from Earlsfield to Kilmorgan. There was a crowd of about 12 men, of whom he alleged defendants formed part. Three of them shouted, "We'll knock out of you what you did to Stenson." Another of defendants (Bernard Brady) said, "I have a six-chambered revolver and I am well able to use it." The defendants were bound over to keep the peace for six months.—*Roscommon Herald*, May 29.

May 28—Co. Leitrim.—At the Carrick-on-Shannon Petty Sessions six men were charged with unlawful assembly at Kiltoghat on May 14, and with intimidating one William Hewitt. The cases were adjourned for a fortnight.—*Roscommon Herald*, May 29.

May 28—Co. Roscommon.—The houses of two farmers living in the Carroy district have been burnt. There has been a dispute in the district in connection with the ownership of a bog on the Digby estate.—*Irish Times*, May 29.

May 28—Co. Kerry.—A shooting affair took place at Tullamore. A number of land occupiers in the district had up to recently the privilege of cutting turf on the property, but have, it is stated, been deprived of that right by the transference of the entire bog to a large farmer in the district. The latter sent some 18 or 20 men about 7 a.m. to cut turf, when about half a dozen armed and disguised men appeared at a short distance and immediately opened fire on the turf cutters who scattered in all directions.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 31.

May 28—King's County.—Patrick Delaney, a police pensioner of Kinnity, near Birr, took a farm some time ago in the Thomastown district and has since been subjected to intimidation. Threatening notices were posted up in the vicinity of the farm and Mr. Delaney was rigorously boycotted. A grave was dug in the centre of the farm and a notice was left posted up, stating that someone's body would soon be deposited therein. Mr. Delaney erected a new fence round the farm and this was completely pulled down.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 31.

May 29—Co. Roscommon.—An extensive cattle drive took place at Ballyconner, near Athlone, the whole of the stock being driven from the farm, the property of the Misses Kilduff, nieces of the late R. C. Bishop of Ardagh.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 1.

May 29—Co. Roscommon.—A large cattle drive took place during the night, on a farm near Moate, 14 head of cattle being driven about six miles to a place called Lurgan.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 1.

May 30—Co. Galway.—A man named Moran, engaged as a herd for a Mr. McDonagh residing in Galway was on his way home from Kilcolgan about 11 o'clock at night when three shots were fired at him from behind a hedge. He was wounded and rendered unconscious, and when found and taken home, a doctor extracted 30 pellets from his side.—*Belfast News Letter*, June 2.

June 2—Co. Westmeath.—At Tyrellspass Petty Sessions, a lad named James Martin, aged about 16, was charged with having assaulted Michael Egan of Rathgarrett. The case arose in connection with a cattle drive carried out by the accused and his brother Thomas on February 6, and the alleged assault occurred subsequently. It was stated during the hearing of the case that the Martins were grazing cattle on Egan's land and that they would not allow him on it. The accused was sentenced to be imprisoned with hard labour for two months, and in addition to find bail for good behaviour for 18 months, or in default another two months' imprisonment.—*Irish Times*, June 4.

June 4—Co. Kerry.—Exciting eviction scenes were witnessed at a place called Kilmurray. The landlord is a Mr. P. G. Mahoney, of Dublin, and the tenant Richard Walsh. Some six months ago Walsh was threatened with eviction and he made every preparation for a stubborn resistance. The Tralee police, protecting the bailiffs, arrived on the scene about 10 a.m., but their progress was barred by two huge elms felled across the road. A big crowd jeered as the party came along. A battering ram was used by the eviction party to force an entrance, but without effect as each time the party approached the house they were met with douches of boiling water, pitch, and limewash. After 4 p.m., it was decided to withdraw for the day.

During the operations Mr. J. Murphy, M.P., was present with the crowd and protested against the eviction. He afterwards addressed the meeting, when the police and bailiffs had withdrawn.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 5.

June 5—Co. Longford.—At a Special Court held at Castlereagh, a man named A. E. Corr was charged with using intimidatory language towards Major Chichester and others. The case was adjourned from the 4th March on the undertaking that the defendants would not repeat the language, but it was alleged that the defendant did not keep the undertaking. The magistrate bound defendant over to be of good behaviour.—*Irish Times*, June 7.

June 8—Co. Cork.—Several evictions were carried out on the Leahy estate at Kilmacowen. The bailiffs arrived on the scene accompanied by a force of 300 police from Castletownbere. During the operations a large crowd assembled, and had to be forced back by the police. The crowd resented this treatment and threw stones and other missiles at the bailiffs and police. The evictions were afterwards completed.—*Cork Constitution*, June 9.

June 8—Co. Meath.—Nine men were charged at George's Cross Petty Sessions with unlawful assembly on the property of Major H. M. Dyas; with intimidation on June 1st, at Wilkinstown; and with attempting

to prevent cattle, the property of Mr. Wallis, from being driven to certain lands at Staholmoy. An adjournment was asked for and assented to.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 9.

June 8—Co. Galway.—The inmates of a publichouse at Killinan, near Galway, had a narrow escape from being burnt to death. About 4 a.m., the house which belongs to a man named Stephen M'Hugh was discovered to be on fire. The occupants were aroused by a police pensioner named Douglas who assisted them to escape. The fire was eventually got under, but the kitchen and bed rooms were destroyed. For some time past a dispute about some land at the rear of the publichouse has been going on.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 10.

June 9—Co. Tipperary.—At Thurles Quarter Sessions, Mrs. Hanorah Hogan applied for compensation for the smashing of windows in houses of her property on March 29, 30, and 31 last (see IRISH FACTS, April 2). The applicant deposed that after the eviction of a tenant from one of her houses for non-payment of rent, a hostile crowd assembled outside the house and hooted witness; they then threw stones at the building and smashed 140 panes of glass. For three nights the crowd paraded the streets and she had to seek police protection. The decree was granted.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 10.

June 10—Co. Galway.—At the Headfort Petty Sessions, three men were charged with assaulting an old man named Collins, a herd in the employment of Mrs. Ryan of Annaghdon. Collins deposed that on the May 16, he was on Mrs. Ryan's land when the three defendants came along the path and shouted at him, one of them threatened to shoot him, and he was knocked down and received a severe blow on the thigh, as a result of which he was laid up for some time. The magistrate fined the three men £1 10s. each for the assault and bound them over to keep the peace for 12 months.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 14.

June 12—Co. Longford.—Mr. Moore O'Farrell, of Lissard, having refused to sell his property to the tenants was obliged to issue writs for non-payment of rent; cattle were seized and impounded at Longford, but they were forcibly driven away by a crowd which had assembled.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 14.

June 13—Co. Cork.—As a sequel to the evictions at Kilmacowen (see above, June 8), a number of the bailiffs left Castletownbere accompanied by an escort of police, the escort being a small one as no trouble was anticipated. When the party arrived at Rosmacowen Bridge about midnight, a crowd of about 300 people appeared out of the darkness and commenced horn blowing, shouting, and throwing sods at the bailiffs and the escort. The crowd chased the car for miles, and on reaching Adrigole, another large crowd was met, but after some difficulty the whole party arrived at Adrigole Barracks where they took refuge.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 14.

June 13—Co. Galway.—The following poster was discovered early in the morning on almost every door and window throughout the town of Tuam:—

“WARNING.

“Any Irishman who joins the English Army or Navy or the R.I.C. enlists in the service of the enemies of Ireland. He is a traitor to his people.”

It concluded with the following in Irish—"Let us rout the English from Ireland."—*Irish Times*, June 15.

June 14—King's County.—At Roscrea 10 men were charged with intimidation towards Bridget Quinlan at Ballinakill. Evidence was given by the District Inspector that one of the defendants, George Sutton, was released from prison on May 29 after serving a sentence for malicious injury to the property of Mrs. Quinlan. On the following day a number of his sympathisers came into Roscrea and a procession was formed, headed by the defendant (George Sutton), and proceeded to the house of Mrs. Quinlan where they shouted and used intimidatory language. The defendants were identified as being present and it was alleged they were the ringleaders. The magistrates decided to adjourn the cases for six months, stating that if the defendants were guilty of further intimidation, the police would take immediate steps.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 15.

June 14—Co. Westmeath.—At the Nisi Prius Court, Dublin, before Mr. Justice Wright and a special jury, Edward Dolan, who carries on a business in Moate as a publican, grocer, &c., sought to recover damages for alleged conspiracy to boycott and injure him in his business. The defendants were nine farmers or shopkeepers residing in that district. Plaintiff said that defendants were all members of the Mount Temple Branch of the U.I.L. of which one of the defendants (E. Robbins) was chairman. At a meeting on December 1, 1907, a resolution was unanimously adopted to boycott him in his shop and hotel in Moate. Thereafter he was boycotted, and defendants notified others to refrain from dealing with him. On April 12, 1908, it was suggested by the League to withdraw the boycott against plaintiff, provided his brother, Thomas Dolan, surrendered a certain farm at Clonrellick, but on his refusal the boycott was continued.

The hearing of the case was not completed until June 16, when the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff and £100 damages was awarded.—*Irish Times*, June 15, 16, and 17.

June 15—Co. Cork.—A correspondent of the *Dublin Daily Express* reports, that during a recent night all the locks on the gates of the grazing lands on the estate of Lady Carby in the Miltown District were broken. A considerable amount of ill-feeling has been excited in the district in connection with the taking of areas of grazing lands on this estate.

June 16—Co. Wexford.—A correspondent of the *Dublin Daily Express* reports that a few days ago, while a local civil bill officer, named Hurley, was engaged in serving writs upon a number of tenants in the vicinity of Kealkil, he was attacked by a number of disguised men who took the processes from him, and he was threatened that if he persisted in serving such documents he would be attacked.

June 17—Co. Kerry.—Four men were charged with being members of a turbulent crowd at Kilmurray on June 4 (see above, June 4). Evidence was given that defendants were inside a house and used poles fitted with barbed wire and canvas saturated with tar, with which they assaulted the police and bailiffs. They were bound over to keep the peace.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 18.

June 19—Co. Westmeath.—At Kilbeggan Petty Sessions nine men were charged with unlawful assembly at Ballinagore on different dates, with the intention of preventing Mr. George Hamilton and his daughter,

Mrs. Helena Matthews, from taking grazing on the Perry estate. The defendants were ordered to give bail for good behaviour, but some of them refused and elected to go to prison.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 21.

June 21—Co. Tipperary.—Rioting occurred in the streets of Thurles, the police being attacked by a band of Holycross men. Batons were drawn and a fierce conflict ensued. The intervention of Father Bannon subsequently brought about a truce, the police being withdrawn, and the people gradually dispersing. Three of the police were badly handled, a sergeant being removed to barracks under medical care.—*Irish Times*, June 22.

June 22—Co. Kerry.—Further exciting scenes were witnessed at Kilmurray in an attempt by the sheriff and his party to take possession of the house occupied by Richard Walsh (*see above*, June 4th). The party arrived on the scene with a force of 250 police. The first obstruction was an elm tree some 300 yards from Walsh's house. The party, however, overcame this difficulty, but on their approach to the house they were received with repeated doses of boiling pitch, boiling water, and lime. After about two hours of this treatment the sheriff called upon Mr. Walsh to surrender, telling him that he would otherwise be compelled to call upon the police to break into the house, and arrest all who were defying the law. The appeal was met with a double dose of the liquids from inside. After about four hours' hard work the police effected an entrance in the eastern gable and arrested the persons who were found inside, consisting of 14 and one woman. The prisoners were conveyed to Tralee prison in the evening, and were loudly cheered both at Castleisland and Tralee.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 23.

June 22—Co. Roscommon.—At the Ballymoe Petty Sessions the case against nine men for intimidating John Cotton, a grazier, was further heard (*see above*, May 26). The case was dismissed by a majority of the magistrates present.—*Northern Whig*, June 23.

MALICIOUS INJURIES.*

Date of Award.	District.	Amount.	Particulars.
1909.		£ s. d.	
Mar. 31	Limerick Qr. Sess.	5 0 0	Damage to a house.
Mar. 31	Naas Qr. Sess. ..	19 10 3	Destruction of windows.
Mar. 31	Naas Qr. Sess.	116 6 0	Burning a house and injury to cattle.
April 1	Thurles Qr. Sess.	180 0 0	Burning hay and a shed.
April 6	Mullingar Qr. Sess.	6 0 0	Maiming sheep.
April 6	Tuam Qr. Sess.	6 0 0	Burning hay.
April 6	Tuam Qr. Sess.	30 0 0	Injury to cattle driven.
April 16	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	9 0 0	Injury to cattle driven.
April 16	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	3 9 0	Injury to cattle driven.
April 16	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	18 10 0	Burning hay.
April 17	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	9 0 0	Killing a bullock.
April 28	Galway Qr. Sess.	1 0 0	Damage to posts.
April 30	Trim Qr. Sess. ..	17 2 6	Damage to gates.
April 30	Trim Qr. Sess. ..	22 10 0	Injury to cattle driven.
April 30	Trim Qr. Sess. ..	9 2 6	Burning hay.
May 6	New Ross Qr. Sess.	15 10 0	Burning a house.
June 1	Listowel Qr. Sess.	10 0 0	Injury to cattle driven.
June 1	Listowel Qr. Sess.	2 10 0	Destruction of windows.
June 1	Listowel Qr. Sess.	5 10 0	Destruction of crops.
June 4	Nenagh Qr. Sess.	10 0 0	Burning a game cover.
June 4	Nenagh Qr. Sess.	130 0 0	Burning cattle, cow shed, &c.
June 5	Athlone Qr. Sess.	25 0 0	Damage to a yacht.
June 9	Thurles Qr. Sess.	8 0 0	Destruction of windows.
June 9	Waterford Qr. Sess.	350 0 0	Burning game preserve.
June 10	Ballina Qr. Sess. ..	15 0 0	Burning farm produce.
June 12	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	121 10 0	Burning game preserve.
June 15	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	11 10 0	Burning farm produce.
June 16	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	1 15 0	Maiming cattle.
June 16	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	4 0 0	Damage to gates.
June 16	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	15 10 0	Burning hay.
June 17	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	6 0 0	Injury to cattle driven.
June 18	Waterford Qr. Sess.	70 0 0	Burning game preserve.
June 21	Navan Qr. Sess. ..	20 0 0	Injury to cattle driven.
June 21	Navan Qr. Sess. ..	10 10 0	Injury to cattle driven.
June 23	Tipperary Qr. Sess.	20 0 0	Maiming a horse.
Total awarded		.. ..	£1304 15s. 3d.

* These figures are taken from Irish newspapers. They are not official, and it is not to be assumed that the list includes all awards given within the above period.

IRELAND'S SAVINGS.

Unionists are greatly indebted to Mr. S. H. Butcher, M.P., for a return (House of Commons Paper No. 119) he has obtained from the Irish Office showing for periods since 1881 the amount of Ireland's savings in the Post Office and other banks.

Nationalists assert that under the present system of Government, Ireland, always poor, is every year sinking more and more into poverty

and helplessness. That is one of the arguments upon which their demand for Home Rule is based.

What are the facts? Mr. Butcher's return brings them out. It shows for the Savings Bank in Ireland the number of depositors and the total amount due on December 31 or November 20, 1881, 1896, and 1907. The return is too long to reprint here, but the following table shows the figures—giving the county totals (to the nearest £):—

COUNTY.	YEAR 1881.		YEAR 1896.		YEAR 1907.	
	Number of Depositors' Ac- counts.	Total Deposits in Post Office and Trustee Savings Banks.	Number of Depositors' Ac- counts.	Total Deposits in Post Office and Trustee Savings Banks.	Number of Depositors' Ac- counts.	Total Deposits in Post Office and Trustee Savings Banks.
		£		£		£
Antrim ..	20,456	441,799	59,166	1,365,159	104,928	2,370,337
Armagh ..	5,879	213,323	10,044	357,818	14,264	512,095
*Carlow ..	890	16,768	2,159	47,993	3,818	73,386
Cavan ..	1,161	32,730	†3,598	†113,783	†6,930	†235,065
Clare ..	1,215	39,193	3,324	112,511	†5,984	†196,804
Cork ..	17,527	558,713	35,265	975,446	57,782	1,394,507
*Donegal ..	1,707	44,403	5,315	168,470	9,871	336,713
Down ..	7,363	167,093	†16,099	†404,359	†25,141	†660,745
Dublin ..	36,765	620,673	84,786	1,309,612	136,482	1,823,659
Fermanagh ..	3,778	169,572	5,031	194,395	6,728	257,981
*Galway ..	2,181	59,589	5,807	170,472	10,216	305,624
*Kerry ..	1,135	24,982	4,449	128,571	9,265	275,767
Kildare ..	3,226	49,324	†9,812	†91,938	†17,776	†146,414
*Kilkenny ..	1,233	27,045	3,892	89,036	6,399	133,110
King's County ..	1,321	33,138	†3,869	†69,148	†5,722	†97,254
*Leitrim ..	558	13,433	1,567	52,397	3,301	110,565
Limerick ..	3,845	136,492	9,905	267,346	16,390	387,142
Londonderry ..	10,129	360,140	16,353	566,149	23,347	781,053
*Longford ..	517	10,093	1,649	51,343	3,228	94,705
Louth ..	2,699	66,168	†5,845	†126,236	†9,247	†196,477
*Mayo ..	1,679	48,875	5,649	180,376	10,846	382,871
Meath ..	1,010	19,889	†2,737	†58,034	†4,666	†89,982
Monaghan ..	1,800	49,187	3,966	122,056	6,593	211,920
Queen's County ..	1,156	29,685	†2,901	†71,847	†4,861	†120,109
Roscommon ..	1,134	35,426	†2,473	†79,156	†4,520	†150,002
*Sligo ..	1,238	31,319	3,066	93,266	5,672	177,797
Tipperary ..	3,822	87,017	10,026	222,680	17,371	333,724
Tyrone ..	5,366	172,436	9,756	320,530	13,982	475,429
Waterford ..	3,654	118,939	7,201	227,206	9,524	264,708
Westmeath ..	1,583	37,712	†4,896	†88,418	†7,725	†137,428
Wexford ..	2,118	49,036	†5,324	†116,418	†8,843	†196,035
Wicklow ..	1,952	37,908	†4,957	†92,827	†8,801	†159,750
TOTAL FOR ALL IRELAND ..	150,097	£3,802,101	350,887	£8,334,993	580,223	£13,089,158

* No Trustee Savings Banks' Accounts.

† Trustee Savings Banks' Accounts closed.

		Depositors.		Amount.
1881	.. ..	150,097	..	£3,802,101
1896	.. ..	350,887	..	£8,334,993
1907	.. ..	580,223	..	£13,089,158

INCREASE IN 25 YEARS:—

DEPOSITORS, 430,126.

AMOUNT, £9,287,057.

Particular attention should be paid to the figures for—

Donegal,

Roscommon,

Sligo,

Galway,

Leitrim,

Clare,

Mayo,

Kerry,

because (except for the four rural districts of Cork) they comprise the area of the new Congested Districts Board Mr. Birrell establishes by the Land Bill. So much was the Chief Secretary struck by their appalling poverty, that he saw no relief but by expropriating the present land-owners and re-settling the whole country. An examination of the figures, however, shows that poverty there is decreasing, and that the people are accumulating their savings in the banks.

CONGESTED COUNTIES.

		Depositors.		Amount.
December 31—				£ s. d.
1881	.. ..	10,847	.. ..	£297,219 17 5
1907	.. ..	59,675	.. ..	£1,936,143 1 6

INCREASE IN 25 YEARS:—

DEPOSITORS, 48,828.

AMOUNT, £1,638,923 4s. 1d.

These figures also controvert effectually the plea that lawlessness arises from hopeless poverty. Some of the counties included in the congested districts—Clare and Galway, for example—are among the most troublesome; and yet their savings have increased enormously in the last 25 years.

It should be remembered that during this period there has been under the operation of the Fair Rents Courts a large decrease in rents. From figures in Mr. Butcher's return, it appears that the rent reductions over the four provinces are as follows:—

		Percentage by which total rental has been reduced.		
		For a FIRST Statutory Term.	For a SECOND Statutory Term.	For the TWO Statutory Terms.
Ulster ..	..	19·8	22·5	37·5
Leinster ..	..	20·1	16·8	33·3
Connaught ..	..	21·0	17·5	34·1
Munster ..	..	22·2	18·3	36·3
IRELAND ..	..	20·7	19·6	35·9

In Irish Joint Stock Banks the amount of deposits and private balances was, on June 30 in the following years :—

1881	..	..	..	..	..	£28,289,000
1896	..	..	..	..	..	£38,758,000
1908	..	..	..	..	..	£50,144,000

The total for 1908 shows an increase of £21,855,000 over that for 1881.

This return is a vindication of the Union : it shows how, under the present system of Government, Ireland is becoming wealthier, and it is a warning to politicians not to do anything likely to retard that progress.

IS IT PEACE?

Of the eight counties which the Government proclaimed as being in so disturbed a state as to require additional police, the proclamation has now been withdrawn in the case of three :—

King's County (proclaimed August, 1907).

Westmeath (proclaimed June, 1908).

Leitrim (proclaimed August, 1907).

This step has been taken as the result of it having "sufficiently appeared" to the Lord Lieutenant that the three counties have "ceased to be in a state of disturbance."

We wish we could attribute the present lull in cattle-driving to the drivers being convinced of the lawlessness and unwisdom of their actions. Unfortunately such is not the case ; the anti-graziers find cattle-driving unnecessary since they have coerced Mr. Birrell into acceding to their demands by his Land Bill. They are resting on their hazels, pending the result of Mr. Birrell's measure.

As Mr. John Fitzgibbon, C.C., said in a speech at Oran, Roscommon, on May 30 :—

"At present they were giving their leaders a chance, but they were carefully preserving their weapons. (Cheers, and a voice : 'We're ready to use the hazel when it becomes necessary.') He did not think the Lords would reject the Amending Land Bill, but if they did, there would be hot times in the country, especially in the West, for they would resort to the old tactics which had been so successful in the past."—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 1.

In the same sense, and even more applicable, since it was spoken in Westmeath, one of the three "undisturbed" counties, is a speech made on May 23 by Mr. M'Kenna, the National Director of South Westmeath, to the Horseleap Branch of the U.I.L.

He said that "the little lull at present" was a mere temporary device "to try and get Mr. Birrell's Bill passed," and particularly the compulsory clause for acquiring untenanted land. The land war, he declared, "was still only in its infancy," though "their soldiers—to use a military expression—were resting upon their swords" and would only "let slip the dogs of war" when the present motive for holding

those restive animals back had become less pressing. At present, he continued, significantly, the only person to be pitied by Leaguers was Judge Curran, because the President of the Local branch of the League "had deposed his Honour, and it was now Mr. Robins who was Chairman of Quarter Sessions in Westmeath."

The result of United Irish League rule was disclosed at the annual meeting of the County Council on June 14. The increase in the rates of 3d. in the £, it was explained, was due to:—

	£
1.—Land Purchase Losses	3,250
2.—Extra Police Charges	2,500
3.—Criminal Injury—Compensation Awards	1,200

Further indication of the "peaceful" character of the county was afforded by a three days' hearing in Dublin of an action for damages incurred through boycotting at Moate. The plaintiff was Edward Dolan, a merchant and auctioneer; the defendants were members of the Mount Temple Branch of the U.I.L. The dispute arose over the purchase of some lands. The branch passed resolutions calling upon its members to report any persons seen going into Dolan's shop, which was picketted. The Secretary of the branch wrote letters to four persons calling upon them to have no dealings with Dolan.

The jury found a verdict for Dolan with £100 damages, and an injunction was granted restraining the defendants from boycotting or interfering with him.

During the hearing at Mullingar on June 10, of a claim for compensation for the malicious poisoning of 37 bullocks, Judge Curran said:—

"They all knew what was going on in County Westmeath. No man knew where he was, owing to the secret workings going on, or whether his property or himself was safe."—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 11.

£208 was granted as compensation in this case.

Since Mr. Birrell has determined to make the rule of the League more effective by advising the Lord Lieutenant to remove the extra police, we can only express our sympathy with those inhabitants who are not members of the U.I.L. How such people are treated may be gathered from the following reports of cases in "undisturbed" King's County, from the *Dublin Daily Express* (May 31):—

"Patrick Delaney, a police pensioner, of Kinnitty, near Birr, took a farm some time ago in the Thomastown district, and has since been subjected to intimidation. Threatening notices were posted up in the vicinity of the farm, and Mr. Delaney was rigorously boycotted in the district. A grave was dug in the centre of the farm, and a notice was left beside it, stating that someone's body would soon be deposited therein. Mr. Delaney erected a new fence round the farm, and this was completely pulled down this week. Mr. Delaney has lodged a claim for compensation, and a police patrol has been deputed to keep a close watch on the farm.

"Yesterday, some cattle were transferred under police protection, from Riverstown to the Dowras farm, occupied by Mr. George Hackett, J.P.

"Mr. James Kirwin, Cloneygowney, assumed temporary possession of an evicted farm on the Armstrong estate and has been persistently boycotted in consequence. For several nights past

bands of men and boys collected round a place called Taylour's Cross and indulged in horn-blowing and hooting.

"At Kilcormac Fair yesterday members were present from several branches of the League for the purpose of ensuring that no Nationalists would have dealings with graziers or with any of those who had rendered themselves 'obnoxious to the people.' The members took notes here and there, and several transactions at the fair will doubtless be the subject of discussions and resolutions at forthcoming League meetings."

As regards County Leitrim, it would seem that it is easy to satisfy the Lord Lieutenant as to the peaceful condition of a county, as the following recent illustrations show:—

May 5—Co. Leitrim.—At a hearing in the King's Bench Division, Dublin, in the case of a summons for arrears of rent the solicitor for the prosecution stated that a few days ago a large mob in the Barony of Dromahaire met a process server who was going to serve writs on the tenants, and they caused him to retire by threats and violence. It was impossible to get any of the tenants served, and it was not safe for the process server to attempt personally to serve the writs, unless he was protected by the police. The process server was afraid to enter the district, and counsel asked for an order to substitute service. Mr. Justice Kenny directed that the writs be served by posting copies of them at the nearest police station.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 6.

May 13—Co. Leitrim.—In the King's Bench Division, Dublin, before Mr. Justice Boyd, Mr. Hynes applied for liberty to substitute service of writ of summons on P. M'Portland, a tenant on the estate of Mr. J. Benson, by posting same on the nearest police barracks. It was stated that the district was in a most disturbed state, and whenever the process server went to serve writs, he was met by a large crowd of people armed with sticks, spades, and graipes, who stopped him and prevented him from serving a single writ. Mr. Justice Boyd granted the application on the terms asked for. Liberty was also given to serve two writs on the Marsham estate in the same district in a similar way.—*Dublin Daily Express*, May 14.

May 18—Co. Leitrim.—In the King's Bench Division, Dublin, application was made by Mr. Henry West for an order for substitution of service of writ of summons in 12 cases. Actions were brought for the recovery of rent. Defendants lived in the Ballingleeragh district, which was in a disturbed state. On April 29 a process server went to the district to serve writs, and on his approach was met by a large threatening crowd carrying pitchforks and sticks, and blowing horns. The people were very threatening in their demeanour, their object being to prevent him from serving the writs. He was unable to serve any of them without imminent danger of his life, and had to return to Drumkeerin.

Mr. Justice Boyd made an order for the writs to be served at the nearest police barracks.—*Freeman's Journal*, May 19.

The Government took the opportunity of Parliament being up to place these three counties effectively under the rule of the United Irish League. Now that the House has again met, it is to be hoped that Mr. Birrell will be called upon to justify his action.

We could wish that it were as easy to convince the Government of a county's disordered condition as it is of its "undisturbed" state.

THE IRISH LAND BILL CRITICISED.

By a British Taxpayer.

BEFORE entering upon an examination of the palpable defects of the measure introduced by Mr. Birrell for the "final" settlement of land purchase in Ireland, it may be useful to emphasise the magnitude of the whole undertaking from the British taxpayer's point of view. At the beginning of March, 1909, upwards of £28,000,000 had actually been advanced on account of completed purchase agreements between landlords and tenants—that is to say, out of moneys raised under the Act of 1903, final settlement had been effected in land valued at this figure. The landlord had been paid out, and the freehold was vested in the tenant, subject to the payment of interest and sinking fund to the State for a period of 68½ years.

In addition, however, to the cases just referred to, in which the State had fulfilled its obligation under the Act, agreements were entered into as between landlord and tenant for the further transfer of land of the value of £56,000,000, but with reference to which no advance was made by the State, owing to the financial *impasse* which has arisen. These are known as **pending purchase agreements**, the fulfilment of which ultimately devolves upon the State. For the provision of this amount the taxpayer is wholly committed, and thus **land purchase up to date involves the public credit to the extent of eighty-four millions of pounds**. Now, under Mr. Birrell's Bill, which not merely contemplates land purchase as understood under the "Wyndham Treaty," and given effect to in the Act of 1903, but which also extends its operations to all sorts and conditions of lands (whether in the occupation of tenants or not) in the whole of Ireland, it is suggested that a further sum of 99 millions sterling must in process of time be provided for the wholesale scheme of the purchase and distribution of Irish land. The position may be set forth as follows:—

Completed land purchase for which funds have been provided under the Act of 1903	£28,000,000
Completed land purchase for which funds must yet be provided under the Act of 1903	56,000,000
Mr. Birrell's estimate of the total amount further required to deal with the purchase and distribution of the whole land of Ireland	99,000,000
Total	£183,000,000

In point of fact, the credit of the United Kingdom is to be loaded for a series of generations with a burden which exceeds at the outset the Budget of the current year by 21 millions sterling. Without criticising the actual figures, which are indeed absurdly in excess of what should be involved in Irish land purchase under a system of

sound finance and wise administration, the ordinary man who pays taxes may well ask himself :—

(1) What is the security for the investment ?

(2) What are the guarantees that the whole bill will be honoured at its face value ?

Both questions would have received entirely satisfactory answers under a steady adherence to the wise policy of the Act of 1903, the continuation and logical development of which would have been the plain duty of the legislature. But the Bill now before Parliament obtrudes an entirely revolutionary outlook on the economics of Irish land which no thoughtful man can contemplate without distrust and dismay.

The Act of 1903 was hailed with delight by every interest in Ireland, and was endorsed by both great parties in both Houses of Parliament. It was created upon a basis of compromise and mutual good feeling which had not been manifested in Ireland as a whole during the previous century. It founded a sentiment which, carefully fostered, would have raised Ireland to its rightful place in the great Imperial structure which it is the ideal of every good citizen to expand and fortify. It roused a spirit of industry, and encouraged enterprise among the Irish people in a manner hitherto unknown, and, in emancipating Irish thought from the trammels of agitation, gave an inspiring impetus to economic, social and intellectual progress. But administrative weakness and financial incapacity have again thrown the fate of Ireland upon the lap of the gods.

The security of the public taxpayer and the guarantees for the redemption of the public credit are more to be sought in the industrial prosperity of Ireland than in the actual value of the combined landlords' and tenants' interest, which admittedly is enormously in excess of the advances made or about to be made by the State. A community free from local turmoil and social disturbance, pursuing the steady pathways of increasing prosperity, is the great asset after all in the public credit of a nation. Such a condition of settled development was possible, and was actually being reached under the Wyndham Act. Such a condition is inconceivable under the Birrell Bill to anyone who understands Ireland.

Those unacquainted with Ireland would infer from reading the speeches of the Chief Secretary that the Act of 1903 was a failure. This is entirely remote from the truth, and no sensible person on any side of politics in Ireland will deny the success of the measure, subject to two qualifications. These exceptions which are to be credited to no Irish interest consist of :—

(1) The abnormal loss in the financing of the Act which much exceeded the estimates made at the time it was passed, and which has been particularly crushing in its effect upon the Irish Development grant and the Irish taxpayer ; and

(2) The painful and aggravating delay in the completion of sales.

Otherwise land purchase at the instance of the late Government has been successful beyond the wildest expectations of landlord or tenant. The fact that agreements for the purchase of eighty-three

millions sterling worth of land have been disposed of in the calm of a peaceful business atmosphere is no doubtful testimony to the truth of this assertion. Why the work cannot be allowed to proceed with the aid of legislative facilities in finance and administrative machinery without involving it in a vortex of complications, is as much a puzzle to those concerned with Irish land as it must certainly be to those people in Great Britain who sympathise with Ireland and whose desire it is to see Ireland happy.

The Birrell Bill may be described as a carefully conceived scheme for the effective suppression of land purchase in non-congested Ireland, and for the extermination of landlords in the congested districts. It is clearly impossible for landlords to sell under the provisions of the Bill. All the inducements of the Act of 1903 to sell their estates and settle down in the country are removed. For all practical purposes the Bill over the greater part of Ireland must have a purely negative result. In the rest of Ireland the element of compulsion, at the instance of a "democratic" Board will give results, but they will entail constant sacrifice of the landlord, and frequently his spoliation.

Taking the Bill in the order of its arrangement, the objections which must be urged against it may be summarised thus:—

I. The purchase annuity of the tenant is to be raised from 3½ to 3½ per cent., notwithstanding that already nearly 230,000 tenants have purchased their holdings at the former rate. In a country where every shilling paid more or less under any differential arrangement affecting land is a never failing cause of irritation, will it be wise to face the consequences of so ill-advised a proposal? Can there be any doubt that such a plan, if accepted by the tenants in their desire to eliminate the landlord, would result in a new agitation?

II. Payment in the case of future sales in stock instead of in cash destroys all possibility of any approximation to uniformity of price, and introduces an element of speculation and uncertainty which will mean from the vendor's point of view either high prices or no sales at all. The provision that landlords who have agreed to sell, and who are now waiting for payment, may have certain options in stock instead of cash is a **direct repudiation** of the fundamental principle of the Wyndham Act, namely, that sales should be negotiated upon a cash basis. No doubt existing vendors may receive cash—but when? Under the new financial proposals cash will be paid to existing vendors at the rate of four millions a year, so that it will take fourteen years to dispose of the agreements now awaiting payment of purchase money! And no protection is extended in the Bill to those who have sold on the faith of being paid in cash in the event of their refusal to accept the options in stock. To-day the landlord who has sold on the faith of a cash settlement is receiving 3½ per cent. on his purchase money, and is probably paying not less than 5 per cent. on his mortgages. The tenant is paying 3½ per cent. on the purchase money instead of 2½ per cent., as he should have paid if the fiscal *impasse* were solved. Landlord and tenant are both penalised through delay, both are incurring heavy loss, both are suffering from the natural disappointment of concluding a settled bargain;

and it is now sought in this Bill to prolong this two-sided agony and national loss indefinitely.

III. The alteration of the bonus from a fixed percentage to a sliding scale, and to add to the misfortunes of the limited owner by not permitting him the enjoyment of the bonus above a higher rate than 5 per cent. is **a deadly blow to future sales of land.** The appropriation of the bonus by the limited owner was of immense value in promoting the sale of Irish land. Now the limited owner has his interest in the bonus reduced by $58\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and, as is well known in Ireland, he had often little more than the bonus to look forward to, to provide for himself and his family when the proceeds of his sale were allocated. He must either get a higher price, or continue an unwilling participant in a dual ownership which sterilises his usefulness, and makes him continue as a receiver upon his property with all the inevitable trials of agrarian warfare.

IV. The abolition of the "zones" implies the removal of a safeguard through which the Act of 1903 recognised the judicial rents fixed by the Land Commission on the current annual value of land in the possession of a tenant. The removal of this valuable proviso is open to the inference that the decisions of the Land Commission are not good enough for the present Government, and that in the case of future estates the whole cumbrous and objectionable process of fixing values has to be all done over again! In this brilliant view of Irish land settlement Mr. Birrell has strengthened his clauses for the prevention of land purchase by extending the operation of settling the value of Irish land over at least half a century.

V. Clause 14 of the Bill which gives the Land Commission direct power of interference with the operation of the "zones" with reference to security and "equity of the price" is **intolerable and cannot be accepted by landlord or tenant.**

VI. The power given to the Land Commission to approve of almost any sort of candidate for land and to make advances out of public funds to such persons to enable them to acquire land is a direct incentive to an agitation of the "landless," and is apparently a sop to the lawlessness which has been fanned into flame in Ireland for the ruin, not merely of landlords, but of thrifty tenants, during the past few years. This clause will legalise a new grievance, and Parliament will soon be called upon to quell wholesale disturbance which its own act now tends directly to promote.

VII. Clause 20, which opens up the vexed question of tenants' improvements in arriving at an equitable price for land, can only have one effect, and that is to prevent the owner entering into negotiations which are bound to result in the depreciation of his interest.

VIII. There is a well recognised principle in English law that there must be no legal recognition of any act or thing which may operate in the direction of "limitation of trade." In Irish land economy, however, Mr. Birrell's Bill distinctly limits the possibilities of the energetic progressive farmer. **Clause 34 (a) prevents any proprietor** (*i.e.*, a State tenant, created under the Land Purchase

Acts) from increasing his holding even at his own expense and out of his own industry to a greater extent than the value of £3,000. This is surely the thin end of the Socialistic wedge with a vengeance! What would be thought in Great Britain of a legislative device which prevented a shopkeeper or a manufacturer from enlarging his business beyond a given limit? Would any member of the Labour Party tolerate a limitation upon the upward tendency of an artisan's wages due to his greater efficiency and skill? Surely, even in Ireland, it is sufficient to make men pause when they are told that it is coolly proposed to fix the maximum of individual interest in land at £3,000!

IX. The whole scheme of a re-organised Congested Districts Board under the control of the United Irish League is fraught with the most serious consequences for the future of the West of Ireland. It really means the creation of a permanent reign of agrarian strife in these already perturbed areas, and substitutes a fixed policy of doles for the self-help effort which is so essential to any real solution of their economic difficulties. This preposterous design is so transparently inimical to the future peace of Ireland that it is hardly possible to believe that Mr. Birrell himself seriously contemplates its acceptance by Parliament.

X. The wide powers of compulsion which are conferred upon the Estates Commissioners and the Congested Districts Board are the most grave and indeed the most revolutionary of the many extraordinary features of the Bill. The question of compulsion has, in English real property law, been always hedged in with the most rigid measures to prevent abuse, and it is really only admitted at all where it is clearly desirable for the common weal. In Ireland its operation as part of land policy would throw the progress of the country back a quarter of a century. The only justification upon which such a project could or should be entertained is that of grinding necessity. But there is no such necessity, and the facts previously related show that **apart from any compulsion** the development of land sales has been vigorous beyond the capacity of the Government to deal with it. How any sane human being can reasonably argue in favour of compulsion when £84,000,000 worth of land has been sold in five years under the free operation of the business instinct of landlord and tenant and on purely voluntary lines, is a difficult question to answer. **The Bill proposes to endow two great public departments in Ireland with powers of expropriating landlords, while the Government has on its hands £56,000,000 worth of land sold and bought voluntarily and still unpaid for.**

The Bill in all its aspects is inadmissible from the point of view of Great Britain, whose public credit it tends to injure and degrade; and from the point of view of Ireland, whose social welfare and economic progress it is calculated to destroy. It is unjust to the public taxpayer, because the additional burden it imposes is subject to a new policy which will have disastrous effects upon Ireland, engendering disaffection and embittering the relations between that country and Great Britain. The Wyndham Act was a great policy of insurance upon the future content of the Irish people and, like all wise insurances, took care that

the chances of ignition of any part of the fabric was reduced to a minimum; the Birrell Bill extends the insurance policy without any adequate protection against arson from without and with direct encouragement to incendiarism from within. It subserves no great interest in Ireland except the professional agitator, whose position it materially improves, and whose active employment it tends to perpetuate.

It is urged that the question of Irish land legislation is of sufficient moment to the people of this country to demand at least clear thinking before taking precipitate action, and that a policy which has been found adequate to Irish needs and which was founded on a Union of all Irishmen should not be lightly cast aside. It cannot be outside the resources of the House of Commons to promulgate new methods of finance without abrogating principles which, in their practical application during five years, can be opposed on no other grounds than that of having achieved too large a measure of success.

IRISH DIARY.

May 29.—Annual Convention, United Irish League of Great Britain, at Manchester. Speeches by Mr. T. P. O'Connor and Mr. S. Gwynn.

June 4.—Mr. T. W. Russell at Belfast.

June 6.—Mr. T. M. Kettle at Dungannon.

June 8.—Mr. J. Dillon at Cambridge.

June 10.—Limerick (East Division) Bye-election. Polling. Result :

Mr. T. Lundon (N.)	..	..	..	..	2,664
Mr. J. Moloney (I.N.)	..	..	..	..	1,686
Majority	..	..	..	..	978

June 15.—Irish Land Bill—"Gag" resolution. Speeches by Mr. Asquith, Mr. W. Long, Mr. A. Birrell, Mr. J. B. Lonsdale, and Mr. C. C. Craig.

IRISH FACTS.

AUGUST, 1909.

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IRISH FACTS.

Vol. 3.—No. 8.]

AUGUST, 1909.

CURRENT NOTES.

Justifying Murder.

From the *Irish World* (July 17):—

“In so far as the trial and execution of Sir Curzon Wyllie will attract the attention of the world to the cruel wrongs of India, they will serve the purpose of the patriotic Indians who are at the head of the movement to rid their country of the withering blight of English rule which has made a charnel house of a land upon which nature has showered her choicest favours.”

Comment is unnecessary; we would only add:—

That the *Irish World* is the American organ of the United Irish League.

That its editor is Patrick Ford.

That Patrick Ford was described by Mr. Redmond (New York, October 7, 1908) as “a man who for half a century, by his manhood and his great newspaper the *Irish World*, has given Ireland unstinted support.”

That Mr. Redmond at the same time invited him and O’Meagher Condon, “to visit us and see for themselves what we have been doing and receive their thanks from the warm hearts of our people.”—*Irish World*, October 17, 1908.

“Minorities must Suffer.”

The vote for the Chief Secretary’s salary is one of the occasions afforded to the House of Commons to discuss the Government’s Irish policy. Last year the Government refused to allow the motion to be discussed at all. This year, as Mr. Long very properly said, the course adopted was extraordinary and unprecedented.

It was arranged that the vote should be taken on July 29. Suddenly, on July 20, without notice, the House was informed that the motion would be discussed on the following day, July 21.

Many of the Irish Unionist members were in Ireland on business and could not be recalled; the Government kept the House up until after seven o’clock the previous morning debating the Finance Bill. Under such circumstances anything like a proper arraignment of Mr. Birrell’s shortcomings was impossible. Mr. Long rightly protested against such sharp practice.

The Condition of Ireland.

Of course, Irish Nationalists, during the debate (July 21), asserted that Ireland was in an entirely peaceful and law-abiding condition. Said Mr. W. Redmond :—

“There is no crime and outrage, practically speaking, in Ireland.”—Debates, Col. 553.

Mr. Birrell said :—

“Ireland is quiet now.”—Debates, Col. 567.

We may well add here the following from Mr. Redmond’s speech at Arklow, on July 4 :—

“Where is the crime and terrorism in Ireland? Reading day by day the reports of the charges of the Judges of Assizes from Clare to Wicklow, wherever they have spoken at this Summer Assize, they have declared that **the country is in a state of absolute tranquillity and peace.**”—*Freeman’s Journal*, July 5.

No one who desires to refute these sweeping statements need read more than the present issue of IRISH FACTS to be convinced of their falsity.

Another Chance for Mr. Birrell.

Mr. Lonsdale, during the debate (July 21), pointed out that :—

“The cause of the present lull in cattle-driving is well understood in Ireland. The cattle-drivers have coerced the Chief Secretary into acceding to all their demands in the present Land Bill, and now they are graciously pleased to cease their agitation for the time in order to ‘give the Chief Secretary a chance.’ But they have made no secret of the fact that in certain eventualities they mean to resume their nefarious operations. The Chief Secretary has received full warning of what is to happen from the conspirators themselves. Mr. John Fitzgibbon, who is a notorious leader in this movement, said in a speech at Oran, Roscommon, on 30th May :—

“‘At present they were giving their leaders a chance, but they were carefully preserving their weapons. (Cheers, and a voice: ‘We are ready to use the hazel when it becomes necessary.’) He did not think the Lords would reject the amending Land Bill, but if they did there would be hot times in the country, especially in the West, for they would resort to the old tactics which had been so successful in the past.’

“The hon. Member for East Mayo, too, has threatened, both in Tipperary and in this House, that :—

“‘If the Land Bill were rejected or closed he and his friends will cry, ‘Havoc, and let slip the dogs of war.’”

“It is evident, therefore, that the diminution of crime and outrage, so far as it has taken place, is due not to any action on the part of the Government to uphold the law and maintain order, but to the fact that the leaders of the party of disorder have their hand upon the throttle-valve for purposes of their own; but they only mean to restrain their followers just so long as it suits their purpose to do so.”—Debates, Cols. 529—530.

Mr. Birrell does not seem disinclined to accept this view. He said that his opponents observed:—

“It is **an illusive calm**, and there is no reason to suppose whatsoever it will continue, and that the peace which undoubtedly does prevail throughout Ireland now is not a peace any statesman can rely upon.”

He added:—

“**I am very well aware of that.** Ireland will be, according to the Ireland which you govern, and according to how you govern it; the spirit in which you govern it; to some extent the nature of the legislation you propose for it. . . I quite agree and accept the omen that Ireland if it is peaceful now will only continue to be peaceful if it is wisely and sympathetically governed.”—*Debates* Col. 567.

This being interpreted means that in Mr. Birrell's opinion Ireland cannot be peaceful by relying on the law, but only by deferring to the agitators and granting them what they want. In this illuminating confession we find, of course, the secret of Mr. Birrell's Irish policy.

It was not therefore surprising to hear him continue:—

“I rejoice that the Government to which I belong resolutely declined to have anything to do with coercion. . . Therefore I think we are justified in the course we took, and that events which are now admitted are of such a character as to show that, so far from being guilty of any dereliction of duty, we were wise in our generation and time in declining to adopt a course of action that could not by any possibility have produced better results, and that might have produced terrible and violent results.”—*Debates*, Col. 568.

Mr. Long pointed out the fallacy in the Chief Secretary's reasoning:—

“I must remind the Chief Secretary, when he draws a sharp comparison between the probable result which would have followed the suggestions made on this side of the House and the results which have followed his own administration, that nobody was a more earnest witness to the peaceful condition of Ireland, after the late Government had been responsible for it, than the right hon. gentleman himself and his immediate predecessor, who, when they took over the reins of office, declared they found Ireland in a wholly peaceful and satisfactory condition. That is not only a tribute to the administration for which we were responsible, but it shows it is a little dangerous to draw conclusions upon questions so difficult and complicated as the administration of Ireland. I must also remind the right hon. gentleman that, although he is able to-day—and I congratulate him upon it—to present a very much better record, yet, as compared with the time when I resigned office, he has a much larger force of police, he has still counties which are proclaimed, and he has had himself to proclaim other counties, six or eight, now reduced to three or four. The last rôle I wish to take up in this House is that of a prophet; it is a most undesirable part for anyone to play, and, in dealing with the future of Ireland, one cannot have definite knowledge with which to prophesy. I do not believe in prophesying unless I know, and that kind of prophecy I am not in a position to make.”—*Debates*, Cols. 576—577.

Mr. Redmond Threatens.

Speaking at Arklow on July 5, Mr. Redmond, referring to the Land Bill, said :—

“ To reject the Bill would be absolute madness on their (the landlords’) part. **It would re-open the Irish Land War.** . . I shrink from the prospect of what will happen if this Bill does not pass. I invite the Irish landlords here to-day to join with us in the House of Commons in our efforts to improve that Bill. But I say to them emphatically that **if they want war, then war they shall have.**”—*Freeman’s Journal*, July 5.

A Demoralised People.

At the Clonmel Assizes, on July 9, the Lord Chief Justice, in giving judgment in the case of appeal against the compensation awarded to Mr. E. O. Hughes, Ballyphilip, said :—

“ He would not disturb the decision of the County Court Judge. While it was hard for innocent men to be made pay for the action of criminals, yet he would say that he greatly feared that the people when crime was committed did not assist the hand of justice, and there was a certain sympathy at times with criminals, and **they only repudiated crime when money was to be paid.** He would like to see the people, who knew the country better than he did, take an active part in the repudiation of crime, and he believed that if they did that, there would be far less crime. **Unfortunately the people were to a certain extent, he was sorry to say, demoralised.** He confirmed the decision of the County Court Judge.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, July 10.

No Evidence obtainable.

Mr. Justice Madden, addressing the Grand Jury at the Roscommon Assizes on July 10, 1909, at Roscommon, said :—

“ In the returns officially presented to me as Judge of Assize, I find several cases of intimidation and offences of an agrarian character, in none of which have persons been made amenable, and this through no fault of the police, but **by reason of the impossibility of obtaining evidence against the offenders.** This, gentlemen, is certainly an unsatisfactory state of things.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, July 12.

“Undisturbed” Westmeath.

The Lord Chief Baron, in addressing the Grand Jury of the Westmeath Assizes at Mullingar on July 2, said :—

“ Referring to the Constabulary returns, on the whole, taking the number of crimes that were called specially reported crimes, **the state of the county did not appear to be very satisfactory.** There were 19 cases reported, as against 10 for the corresponding period of last year, showing an increase of nine, and, of course, that was not satisfactory. . . It was impossible for anyone to say that the county was in a satisfactory condition.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, July 3.

We may add to this extract that Westmeath is one of the three counties from which the Government have withdrawn the proclamation under the Act of William IV., on the grounds that its undisturbed condition no longer necessitates an additional force of police!

Evidently the Lord Chief Baron and the Government are in disagreement as to the condition required of a county before it can be classed as "satisfactory."

The "White Gloves" Fallacy.

Radicals who have been asserting that Ireland is peaceful because the Judges have been presented with white gloves, should be referred to Mr. Birrell's reply to Mr. J. O'Connor, who asked in the House of Commons on July 8 whether it was a fact that the Judges at Munster Assizes had been presented with white gloves everywhere they had gone?

Mr. A. Birrell replied as follows:—

"Yes, sir, that is perfectly true, and a most gratifying circumstance. **At the same time it would be idle to disguise the fact that there are occurrences in Ireland, and I daresay in other countries, that do not come before the Assizes at all,** therefore you cannot altogether say that there is no occasion for watchfulness on the part of the police, simply because these cases are not supported by evidence, and of a kind that can be dealt with at County Assizes."—*Parliamentary Debates*, July 8, Col. 1398.

The Lord Chief Baron on Boycotting.

The Lord Chief Baron, addressing the Grand Jury at Mullingar on July 2, said:—

"I also understand from the Constabulary that there is a part of the county near Mount Temple, Moate, which has become, within a very short period, **most unsatisfactory and riotous, and rowdy in its condition.** It appears that recently a number of men from that district were brought to Court in Dublin by a man named Dolan, from Moate, who alleged that he was the victim of a boycotting conspiracy, and there was a verdict given against certain defendants for £100 in the case. The result of that verdict has been to cause a great deal of discontent in that neighbourhood, and it is a state of rather tumultuous disturbance.

"Now, with all of those people who are in favour of boycotting it is quite natural that they should be dissatisfied with that verdict, because, according to my experience, which extends now over a tolerable length of time, **there is no more effective method of putting down boycotting conspiracies in Ireland than by successful civil actions.** For a number of years we had prosecutions attempted (I don't know whether there were very many verdicts of juries in these prosecutions). There were criminal convictions under the Crimes Act for boycotting conspiracies, but this did not affect the continued practice of boycotting. But then there came the Tallow conspiracy case. I think it had been three times tried on the criminal side of the court, and juries disagreed. It was then tried on the civil side, where there was the vast advantage that the jury were able to hear all sides, and the prisoners' mouths were not shut.

The verdict of £5,000 against the defendants in that action practically put an end to boycotting in that part of the country.

"And if the verdict that has been obtained in this case of Mr. Dolan has the effect of putting an end to boycotting in your county I only say that it will have had a very happy result. My experience is that in the present state of Ireland there is nothing that will come home to the intelligencies of persons who are parties to these boycotting conspiracies so surely as being obliged to make payment of money for compensation."—*Irish Times*, July 3.

The Course of Justice.

Crime is checked by the knowledge that punishment is swift and certain. In Ireland the course of justice is slow. As an illustration we may take the Geevah case. There eight men were alleged to have intimidated a postman on January 8, 1908. "Since then," said the defending counsel, "Assize had followed Assize, and he was tired of addressing juries."—(*Dublin Daily Express*, July 8.)

The case has been on the list at five Assizes :—

- (1) Spring Assizes, 1908.
- (2) Summer Assizes, 1908.
- (3) Winter Assizes, 1908.
- (4) Spring Assizes, 1909.
- (5) Summer Assizes, 1909.

The Crown are now without a favourable verdict ; and, nearly two years after the alleged offence was committed, the jury agreed—to discharge the prisoners !

The Constables' Happy Lot.

From evidence given at a recent trial arising out of an eviction at Castleisland in Co. Kerry, our readers will gain an insight into life in Ireland. The eviction was attended by a Nationalist M.P., whose idea of justice was to complain in the House of Commons of the action of the Constabulary. Impartial opinion, after reading the evidence given below, will rather incline to the view that if anyone were entitled to complain it was the Constabulary after the treatment meted out to them :—

"Sergeant John McIntire, of the Constabulary Depot, Dublin, gave evidence of the march to Walsh's house very early in the morning of June 22, the obstructions in the shape of fallen trees and a thicket of brushwood around the house, how **lime, tar, and other fluids were poured on the Sheriff and his bailiffs** in trying to remove the obstructions, how Mr. Ball, Assistant Inspector-General, gave orders to the police to break into the house to effect the arrest of the people inside.

"The witness described how he got on a ladder, armed with a gas-pipe ten feet long covered with barbed wire, and tried to keep the people inside from squirting out the liquids. **He was repeatedly assaulted with tar, lime, hot water, and other liquids from the men inside.** Some of them were armed with gaffs and slashers, and one man tried to gaff him, but failed. Another man caught the gas pipe which witness was holding with his slasher. **He had to get motor goggles to protect his eyes from the tar and other liquids.** He saw somebody inside using a handsaw cutting the woodwork

of the roof, and he struck it with the gas pipe and knocked a portion of it down in the yard. The people inside wore masks, and he could not identify them. **When getting off the ladder the remains of a bag of lime were thrown on him, which for the time made him stone blind,** and he had to be led away by Sergeant Sweeny, Ambulance Instructor, who dressed his eyes. He was medically treated by Dr. Rice, in Castleisland. He returned to Dublin next day, and was treated by Drs. Gordan, Burgess, and Meyers. He produced the uniform worn on the occasion, which was saturated right through. His right eye was still weak and cloudy as a result of the injuries received at Kilmurry."

"Sergeant John Sweeney, of the Depot, described the barricading approaching and around the house. He went on to say how the sheriff and bailiffs failed to effect an entrance, and heard an order from Mr. Ball, Assistant Inspector-General, to the police to break through the wall and arrest those inside.

"When they started work they were met with **a shower of tar, lime, and hot water, mixed with other fluids.** After an hour's work he succeeded in making a breach through the wall, and immediately he did tar was squirted through the opening. In consequence of what Mr. Ball told him, he led Sergeant McIntyre away, and dressed his eyes. **He was then apparently blind.** After dressing Sergeant McIntyre's eyes, he returned to the house, and found that 'the garrison had capitulated.' He could not identify any of the accused."

—*Dublin Daily Express*, July 17.

We are glad to see that Mr. Birrell has recognised the good conduct of the police and the outrages they suffered. The *R.I.C. Weekly Notes* states that his tribute has been embodied in the following minute from the Inspector-General:—

"The Chief Secretary has expressed his great satisfaction on reading the Commandant's report regarding the evictions at Kilmurry, and also the pleasure with which he has noted the courage and good temper displayed by the police in their conduct in a difficult duty, under great and outrageous provocation."

Occupations of Cattle-drivers.

On the motion of Lord Donoughmore an interesting return (House of Lord's Paper No. 102) has been issued showing the occupations of cattle-drivers.

There were during 1907, 1908, and the first quarter of 1909, 1,135 cattle-drives; and in respect of them, 1,365 persons were convicted or bound to the peace. Their occupations were as follows:—

Farmers	..	..	..	..	..	543
Farmers' sons	..	..	..	..	..	546
Labourers	..	..	..	..	..	160
Other occupations	..	..	..	..	..	116

1,365

Home Rulers and the Budget.

At Arklow, on July 4, Mr. Redmond devoted himself to a defence of the Budget. It would indeed be hard to distinguish his speech from

those delivered all over the country under the auspices of the Budget League.

It has at any rate caused profound dissatisfaction in Ireland, as may be gathered from the following extracts from Irish Home Rule papers whose opinions have been collected by *Sinn Féin* (July 17):—

“Why should not this Budget, which hits Ireland unfairly at every point, be opposed as a whole?” asks the *Dundalk Examiner*. “Pending the obtaining of Home Rule, it should be the duty of the Irish members to resist as far as possible, and by every means in their power, the legalisation of the further plunder of this country. If the Irish party are simply a caudal appendage of the Liberal Party and cannot or will not do their duty, then every constituency should call on its representative to oppose the Budget, the party and the party managers and wirepullers notwithstanding.”

“It is strange that a man of Mr. Redmond’s astuteness would try to throw such transparent dust in the eyes of the people,” says the *Southern Star* (Cork). “The Irish party has made no fight, worthy of the name, against the Budget, and Mr. Redmond knows it. Even if Mr. Redmond’s statements were not so inconsistent, if they were perfectly in accordance with facts, still the action of the party in the division lobbies would be sufficient to show the country that its opposition to the Budget is a sham.”

“Without doubt,” writes the *Wexford Echo*, “the Irish party are not fighting this Budget honestly. They are pretending to fight it in order to deceive the country. If they meant serious opposition to the Budget they would combine with any hostile forces to defeat it. Instead of that they are voting for its clauses night after night. . . .”

“If Parnell,” says the *Roscommon Herald*, “were faced with a problem like the present Budget and Birrell’s Land Bill, he would say to the Englishmen, ‘Well, pass the Land Bill, and then I will consider my course on the Budget.’ He would never think of playing such a shilly-shally game as denouncing the Budget in Ireland and voting for it in Parliament, while waiting all the time with his eyes shut and his mouth open for the Land Bill. Mr. Birrell has treated the Irish as a parcel of children.”

“Mr. Redmond, in his new-born zeal to serve the Whigs, whom he once denounced so fiercely,” writes the *Irish Catholic*, “is actually helping for all he is worth to secure the enactment of the Finance Bill. Such members of the Irish party as are in attendance at the House of Commons are nightly obediently trotting into the division lobby at the beck of the Liberal Whips. . . . Thirty-one members of the Irish party voted with the Government on Monday against Mr. Ridsdale’s amendment. Against the Earl of Ronaldshay’s amendment 29 voted with the Government, and 28 voted with the Government against Mr. Hope’s amendment. So it is all along the line. The new taxation is being imposed on Ireland by her own representatives.”

Dealing with the taxation of increased land value, the *Meath Chronicle* says:—“No doubt the proposal is limited to town areas, and under restricted conditions. But how long will these restrictions last? Admittedly it is sought to establish a principle; and once that principle is set up in any form, the end is out of view in one sense. Not merely will town areas, but tillage and pasture and demesne

areas have to pay score over imperial outlay. . . The Budget appointed the Inland Revenue Commissioners, so that the power that demanded the tax might also fix the tariff. One more British Department was to be added to the others who snap their fingers in the face of the Irish people, and call law and authority to their aid in fleeing a country. Even to the modest proposal to grant an appeal from the Commissioners to an independent tribunal the Liberal Chancellor demurred. What lies before this country, when an attitude like this is taken up by a leader of the men whose desertion of Home Rule seems to give a claim to Irish support ? ”

So the *Leinster Leader* (July 3) :—

“ At present, with the facts before us, we can only come to the conclusion that the fight against the Budget in Parliament is all a pretence that the party is anxious to give the country the impression that it is fighting the Budget left, right, and centre in Parliament, while it does nothing of the kind. The division lists tell their own tale. When the *Freeman's Journal*, taking on a British Ministerial tone, talks about ‘ transparent trickery ’ and ‘ dishonesty ’ people may be tempted to borrow the language and pay it back at the source from whence it springs—but we won't. Let the facts speak for themselves.”

Mr. Moore exposes Nationalist Tactics.

Mr. William Moore, M.P., has addressed the following letter to the Town Clerk of Limerick :—

“ House of Commons,

“ June 29th, 1909.

“ Dear Sir,—I have received a copy of the resolutions of the County Borough Council of Limerick against proposals in the Budget. The final resolution, I observe, is in these terms :—

“ ‘ And we call on the Irish National Party not merely to protest against these iniquitous proposals, but to fight tooth and nail against them, and, if unsuccessful, to wage war in season and out of season against a Ministry which would dare to perpetrate such an outrage and injustice on Ireland, and its people.’ ”

“ I cannot say that I can see the remotest probability of the Irish Nationalist Party taking the field against any proposals of their friends, the Radical Ministry.

“ The subject matter of the debate on the Budget last night was the taxation of land for development in and around urban areas—proposals injurious to the artisan and the artisan dweller alike, but dear to the heart of the Government.

“ There were seven divisions. I send, for the information of the Council, the official division lists.

“ From these you will observe that sooner than vote against their friends, Mr. Redmond and his following abstained on the second and fourth divisions.

“ In the first division, Mr. Redmond and 37 Nationalists ; in the third, Mr. Redmond and 26 Nationalists ; in the sixth, Mr. Redmond and 19 Nationalists ; and in the seventh, Mr. Redmond and 16 Nationalists voted for the Budget and the Government.

"As these divisions took place in the small hours of the morning for the most part, I think it well that attention should be drawn to them, in the interests of those who are sick of the Nationalist-Radical alliance, where the interests of the whole country are concerned.—Yours faithfully,

"WM. MOORE, M.P., Armagh (N.).

"W. M. Nolan, Esq.,

"Clerk of the Council."

Mr. T. P. O'Connor's Advice.

The *Irish Catholic* (June 19) says:—

"Indeed, the fact that there is no desire on the part of Mr. John Redmond and his principal colleagues to defeat the Finance Bill has been revealed in the midst of a charming bouquet of falsehoods by the ingenuous Mr. T. P. O'Connor. This versatile and veracious artist published the following intelligence in the *Chicago Sunday Tribune* of May 23:—

"Lloyd George's Budget, while exciting enthusiasm amongst Radicals all over the country, is breaking down steadily the opposition. A faction, in the meantime, as I have prophesied, is attempting a new move against the Irish Party by exploiting the Budget taxes on whiskey, and in the small saloon keepers' organ, the *Daily Independent*, Tim Healy writes daily articles denouncing the Party lukewarmness against the Budget. . . The Irish Party will have to proceed carefully, for they want the Land Bill, and the Government must not be driven to bay."

Wants a General Election.

Speaking at Arklow, on July 4, Mr. Redmond said:—

"For my part, if the Irish Land Bill were once passed I would welcome a dissolution at the earliest possible moment. I do not believe that after the Land Bill has passed Ireland has anything more to gain from this Parliament or this Government, and, therefore, I would welcome a dissolution the moment we passed the Land Bill."—*Freeman's Journal*, July 5.

The Two Voices.

IN ENGLAND.

Mr. Gwynn, M.P., at Woolwich, July 6:—

"Home Rule was a question of bringing about peace between nations, and it was an important Imperial question that demanded the consideration of Englishmen. Self-Government was the principle upon which the British Empire rested." — *Freeman's Journal*, July 7.

IN IRELAND.

At a United Irish League meeting at Shrinrone, July 4:—

"Resolutions were proposed and seconded, declaring that nothing short of a complete separation from the British Empire would satisfy the Irish people. . . Mr. Fallon of the Young Ireland Branch of the U.I.L. declared, ' . . . after all, what did they in Ireland care about the British Empire? They had gained nothing by England and never would.' "—*Irish Times*, July 6.

The A.O.H.

Those who affect to see a decline in the activities of Irish Disloyalists should have their attention drawn to the growth of the Ancient Order of Hibernians during the last four years. In that time, according to the annual report, the number of divisions has increased from 180 to 640. It is significant, too, that one-half of the divisions are in the province of Ulster.

It may be well to recall, in order to remove any misapprehension, what are the real objects and aims of the Society. The following extract is taken from the first number of its official journal, and is quoted in a pamphlet on "National Organisations in Ireland," issued by *The Outlook* :—

"The A.O.H. was established for the protection of God's priests, to promote the temporal welfare of Catholics, and for the deliverance of Ireland from the heel of the oppressor, and it is as necessary to-day as it was on the day of its initiation. It is true that the clergy of the Catholic Church are now permitted to practise their religious duties without interruption, and in this sense, what was formerly the bodyguard of God's ministers is no longer necessary, but the temporal welfare of Catholics has still to be promoted; and that all-absorbing object, the freedom of Ireland, has still to be accomplished."

The writer of the pamphlet continues :—

"After a rather involved historical *résumé* of the traditions as to the origin of the order, the writer quotes with enthusiasm a poem by Gavan Duffy, in which these stanzas occur :—

"Joy, joy, the day is come at last, the day of hope and pride,
And see our crackling bonfires light old Bann's rejoicing tide,
And gladsome bell and bugle horn, from Newry's captured towers,
Hark, how they tell the Saxon swine, this land is ours—is ours!"

The Result of Radical Rule.

Balances in Post Office and Trustee Saving Banks.

Three years of Unionist Rule.		Three years of Radical Rule.	
	£		£
Dec. 31, 1902 ..	11,470,000	Dec. 31, 1905 ..	12,692,000
Dec. 31, 1905 ..	12,692,000	Dec. 31, 1908 ..	13,274,000
Unionist Increase ..	£1,222,000	Radical Increase ..	£582,000

Three years of Radical rule in Ireland has resulted in a **slackening in the rate of saving of £640,000**, as compared with the last three years of Unionist rule.

Nationalist Prejudice and Killarney Disaster.

In the course of his charge to the jury in the inquest on the recent Killarney disaster, the Coroner said :—

"Lord Dudley, who was then the Lord Lieutenant, offered to give three policemen as Inspectors of Boats, but the Nationalist Rural Council refused to accept them because they were policemen, and so the matter fell through."—*Freeman's Journal*, June 29.

The jury recommended that the boats should be under stringent inspection. The disaster has taken place now. Had the Nationalist Rural Council not placed political antipathies before their duty, Lord Dudley's offer would have been accepted, and it might have prevented these lives being lost. We dwell on the incident as an illustration of the extent to which political hostility rules local government matters in Ireland.

The Rule of the Nationalist Council.

How Acts of Parliament are used by Irish Nationalists to make matters unpleasant for "obnoxious" persons is admirably illustrated by information made public at an inquiry into a labourer's cottage scheme held at Athlone by a Local Government Board inspector on June 22.

It was stated at the inquiry that the Labourers Acts were practically a dead letter in Connaught. In the Athlone district there were many large farms and the two District Councillors each had one. It was not proposed to put a cottage on either of them: but on a small piece of land of 31 acres held by an "obnoxious" family called Wynne, on which one cottage had already been erected, it was proposed to place another.

The applicant was a blacksmith, who lived at present four and a half miles from the proposed site. Wynne had been visited by one of the District Councillors, who was also an official of the United Irish League, and was asked to give up his land for the purpose of dividing it. He refused to do so and was "drummed," and the attempt made to plant another cottage on his land.

Priest Denounces Boycotting.

In connection with the case referred to by the Lord Chief Baron (see page 311), the *Dublin Daily Express* (July 21) reports:—

"Excitement has been occasioned in Moate and Mount Temple by the denunciation of boycotting in the district by the Very Rev. Father Wheatley, Prior of the Carmelite Community of the town.

"The Rev. Father Wheatley was recently transferred to Tenerure, Dublin, and on Sunday he took leave of the congregation after early Mass. Speaking to a large congregation, he said it was nearly half a century since he first came to labour amongst the people of Moate. During all that time they were remarkable for their piety and goodness. On one occasion a bishop remarked to a priest who was coming to Moate that he was going amongst a thoroughly pious people. That enviable character has unfortunately and very sadly been now altogether changed.

"They all knew that the conduct that had been carried on and was being carried on in the town and in the neighbourhood of the town in the shape of boycotting and other uncharitable acts was dishonest—**boycotting was most dishonest**. Every man had an absolute right and a perfect freedom to deal where he liked and with whom he liked. **To place a man outside the door of a fellow-man to watch who would go into his shop—he looked upon that in the same light as putting their hands into his pocket and taking money out of it.** It was unjust and uncharitable. In the sight of God they were bound to make restitution to those they had injured.

"Portion of the congregation left the church as a protest, and

the statement caused very intense and bitter feeling in the town, which is in a greatly disturbed state at the present moment. The police stations at Moate and Mount Temple have been strongly reinforced, and are under the command of District Inspector Hitreed."

Advocating the Boycott.

Mr. P. F. Maguire, the chairman of a public meeting of the Meath Labour Union and Kells Branch of the United Irish League at Kells on June 29, at which Mr. P. White, M.P., and Mr. J. J. Clancy, M.P., were present, said :—

"He thought it might be possible to in some way hurry their departure. What about shutting off their supplies? What about causing a scarcity of provisions?—a perfectly legal means, which, if followed, would result in the emergency men not remaining there very long. They should keep aloof from these men, show them that they were the enemies of the people, and endeavour to send them away at all costs."—*Drogheda Independent*, July 3.

We direct Mr. Birrell's attention to this open incitement to boycott.

A League Black List.

From the *Dublin Daily Express* (July 17) :—

"At a meeting of the local branch of the U.I. League in Cortoon (Co. Galway), at which Mr. J. Sloyan, Secretary to the North Galway Executive, was present on behalf of the National Directory, the following resolution was unanimously passed :—

"That we request and respectfully urge on the members of the Committee elected to-day to make an inventory of the families in their districts, and visit them with a view of getting them to join the League, and it shall be their duty to publish in the local Press the names of those parties who refuse to join or become members of our branch, so that when the division of the grass lands will take place, after the passing of the new Land Bill now before Parliament, the Executive of the League will be cognisant of those who act as 'blacklegs' and who have always been hindermost in the matter of Ireland's regeneration."

The Boycott.

At a meeting at Kilnaleck, Co. Cavan, on June 29, after a speech by Mr. Farrell, M.P., in which "the grabber, Luke Reilly, of Kilnaleck," was warned that "it was better for him he never interfered with the orphan's home," the following resolution was passed :—

"That we, the Nationalists of Drunkelly, Crossalough, Kilbride, and Mullahoran 'Dreadnoughts' and surrounding parishes, hereby condemn the action of a grabber of Kilnaleck, Co. Cavan, in grabbing the farm of Mary Lynch, Kilnaleck, and that we call on all the Nationalists in this and surrounding districts to boycott this man until such time as he surrenders this grabbed farm to the rightful owner, Mary Lynch."—*Longford Leader*, July 10.

Here we have a direct incitement to boycott a particular individual. The act condemned in the resolution took place thirteen years ago! Nationalist resentment dies slowly.

A League Warning.

From the report, in the *Longford Leader* (June 26), of the proceedings of the Longford Branch of the United Irish League at their meeting on June 20 :—

“Chairman : I understand Mr. McGuinness has some communications which I will now ask him to read.

“Mr. McGuinness said the only communication he had was a note from Mr. Joseph Callaghan, Secretary of Clonguish Branch, drawing attention to the conduct of a young man named Fee of Crivee in walking with the son of the notorious Grabber Martin of Sunnyside.

“Mr. McKenna : Yes, and some of the Longford boys are doing the same thing.

“Mr. P. Thompson : Yes, and shaking hands with him.

“Mr. Duffy : What can you do with Fee, he is not a member and does not live in this place.

“A Member : He works in the town.

“Mr. Duffy : It would be a matter for Killoe Branch.

“Mr. Molloy : A little touch would do him no harm at all.

“Mr. McKenna : On Friday I saw two young men walking the town with him.

“Mr. Thompson : Yes, making a god of him.

“Chairman : Do you propose anything ?

“Mr. Duffy : I propose that Mr. Fee get notice not to associate with Martin again.

“Mr. John Nevin : Aye, and Christy Baxter too. (Laughter.) Himself and Hugh Kelly walked the town with him and drank with him !

“Chairman : Well now, gentlemen, surely such conduct as this cannot be tolerated ?

“Mr. Duffy : He should get fair warning.

“Chairman : Are you satisfied, gentlemen, that Mr. Fee get notice to have nothing to do with this man in future ?

“Mr. Duffy : Let Mr. McGuinness send notice to Mr. Fee.

“Chairman : Are you satisfied, gentlemen ?

“Several members replied in the affirmative.

“Mr. McGuinness said it would be better have the matter published in the Press. He would propose that notice be given in the Press, that parties associating with young Martin would be strictly dealt with, and that the Press be requested to take cognisance of that.

“After some discussion Mr. McGuinness's suggestion was agreed to, and the matter dropped.”

Home Rule in Being.

There is in North Sligo a Parliamentary vacancy. The Nationalists are, as usual, demonstrating their unfitness to govern Ireland by proving unable to govern themselves. The *Dublin Daily Express* (July 19) thus

describes a recent meeting held in Sligo Town Hall in support of Mr. Thomas Scanlan, who claims to have the benediction of Mr. Redmond for his candidature :—

“ . . . From the language and shouts at the back of the hall it was evident that the supporters of the several candidates were coming into personal conflict. . . For several minutes a free fight was in progress. From the platform a confused mass of men could be seen swaying backwards and forwards, blows were struck, one man's face was seen covered with blood, while cheers for the rival candidates were heard.”

The authorities had thoughtfully provided for the combatants' convenience, for we read “seating arrangements had only been provided at the front part of the hall, and at the rear, where the fight was raging, the combatants were not impeded by chairs or forms.”

Priests and People.

Mr. D. Kilbride, M.P., speaking in the House of Commons on June 24, on the debate on the Irish Land Commission Vote, and referring to the evicted tenants question, said :—

“Are we to be put off with the excuse that the reason the Plan of Campaign tenants are left on the roadside is that the Estate Commissioners have no land, when we see by these returns that over 29,000 acres have been distributed to ‘other people’? Why do these people get it? **Some of them because they are good supporters of the Church, and because they have the parish priest, the curate, and sometimes the bishop to shout for them.** The evicted tenant when he was engaged in the Plan of Campaign incurred the formal censure of the Church, and it was apparently more in the interests of religion that the strong farmers and the sons of strong farmers should be given land rather than the Plan of Campaign tenant should be restored. Another reason is that the strong farmer was probably more useful, of a great deal more advantage to local merchants in the country towns or to shopkeepers than the evicted tenant, who was not in as good a financial position, but who was of the very class of people who obtained the Land Act of 1887, and all the Land Acts since.”—*Parliamentary Debates*, Col. 1914.

Replying to this, Mr. A. Birrell, said :—

“The hon. Member (Mr. Kilbride) made a speech which interested me very much. He said they had kept off a number of the Plan of Campaign men, and the Commissioners had not done their full duty by these men, whereas if only a priest or a bishop shouted on behalf of some bogus evicted tenant he got a holding. That is not the first time I have heard of bogus claims for evicted tenants. . . . I therefore can only hope that in the future, at all events, my friends the Estates Commissioners, now that their attention has been called to the way they have been humbugged by the clergy, will not do it again, and I trust some hope may come out of that criticism.”—*Parliamentary Debates*, Col. 1944-5.

We refrain from commenting upon this; indeed we should not have mentioned it except that the charge was made by an Irish Home Rule M.P.

The Anti-Migration Campaign.

Migration forms a large part of any settlement of the land question. The way, however, is blocked by the hostile attitude of the people themselves, who decline to welcome strangers from another district, desiring only the land for themselves.

For example, Mr. P. Collins speaking at a meeting of the Meath Labour Union and Kells Branch of the United Irish League at Kells on June 29, said :—

“Referring to the selection of tenants for untenanted lands by the Estates Commissioners, he thought the Commissioners were using their great powers with the object of dividing the people on the land question. The claims of the evicted tenants—especially Meath evicted tenants—and uneconomic holders were entirely ignored, **while strangers were brought in to create disruption in the districts where these ranches were.** He knew an instance where a tenant was brought from Cork and dumped down in Skryne in County Meath, and he knew that in that district there were young men deserving of land which the Commissioners could have provided.”—*Drogheda Independent*, July 3.

Boy Scouts Banned.

From *Sinn Féin* (July 8) :—

“There can be no objection to the League of Boy Scouts from any point of view but one. That objection is not to the boys personally or to the promoters, who deserve to be congratulated on their good work, from an English point of view. This objection would not hold in England, but in Ireland it is insuperable. The League of Boys Scouts is anti-National. It tends to pervert the patriotism of our Irish boys, and render the teaching of the Irish Revival null and void. Nationalist parents should not tolerate their children joining this League. For remember the Scouts are mostly all schoolboys, and consider for a moment the evil effect it would have on the study of Irish if the patriotism of our schoolboys became tainted by the proselytising influences of Baden-Powell’s Scouts, and there is every danger of this unless immediate steps are taken to provide some counter attraction on the same lines.

“Already a large number of boys, the sons of rabid Nationalist parents, have joined the League, and more are still joining.

“Now, this must be stopped, and the surest way to end it is to organise a similar League on Sinn Féin lines.”

LIFE IN IRELAND.

A Diary of Outrages, etc., under Radical Rule.

"Ireland is quiet now."—Mr. Birrell, House of Commons, July 21.

"Where is the crime and terrorism in Ireland? . . . The country is in a state of absolute tranquility and peace."—Mr. Redmond, Arklow, July 4.

June 12—Co. Tipperary.—At Thurles, before a Spécial Court, James Heffernan was charged with intimidating Mr. Charles Neville Clarke. The prisoner was brought from Clonmell and conveyed to the Court-house from the station by an escort of about 20 police, and followed by the Holycross band and cheering crowds. After evidence was given the case was adjourned for a week.

June 19.—The prisoner was again brought up and further evidence was taken, the case being again remanded.

June 23.—The case again brought forward and adjourned.

June 24.—The hearing of the case was continued, and the prisoner was committed for trial at the Nenagh Assizes. He refused to give bail, and was removed in custody.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 14, 21, and 25.

It was stated that the prisoner is Secretary of the local branch of the United Irish League.

June 21—Co. Tipperary.—A valuable brood mare, the property of a Mr. Adam Hodgins, was found during the evening lying in a field on the farm of a Mr. Corcoran, at Ballydonnell. A piece of wire pailing 17 inches long was found to have been driven into the stomach of the animal.

Mr. Hodgins had a criminal injury application at the Tipperary Quarter Sessions, and was granted £20 damage for injuries to his horses, which were driven off evicted lands on May 27 last.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 23.

June 22—Co. Tipperary.—As a sequel to the rioting at Thurles (see IRISH FACTS, July, p. 290) a large number of arrests were made in the town and surrounding districts, the prisoners being brought to the police barracks.

After the rioting had subsided, it was thought that the trouble had ceased, but a fresh outbreak occurred in the main street, and an excited crowd made an attack on the police barrack. The police charged the mob, and several persons received injuries more or less severe.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 23.

June 23—Co. Kilkenny.—At the Thomastown Quarter Sessions, Mr. Dennis Duggan claimed £200 for the burning of a fox covert on his property. He said in evidence that a fire took place between eleven o'clock at night and five in the morning. He took an evicted farm about twelve years ago, and for this he was boycotted, and also because he

would not join the League. He had to get his food in Waterford. The blacksmith in the district refused to work for him. None of the neighbours told him about the fire, although they knew all about it. Nobody sympathised with him in the loss he had sustained. A decree of £100 was given.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 24.

June 23—Co. Clare.—A shooting outrage occurred at Carrowneghary, the house of a farmer named O'Brien being fired into at night. O'Brien and his wife were in bed at the time, and several revolver bullets went through the bed clothes, the wooden canopy over the bed also being perforated, and the bed room windows shattered. No motive is assigned for the outrage.—*Cork Constitution*, June 24.

June 24—Co. Tipperary.—A dray cart, the property of a Mr. Thomas Cormack, Lisaroon, near Thurles, was found in the morning on the roadside near the village of The Ragg, the shafts being cut off and the wheels taken from the axeltree. The severed portions were found scattered about in different places, and six empty gun cartridges were also discovered in the vicinity. A boycotting notice was found pasted on a portion of the damaged cart. Mr. Cormack is a tenant on the estate of Lieut.-Col. Fitzgibbon Trant, and his house was fired into at night about a month ago. It is alleged that the supposed outrages are in consequence of his agreement to pay his rent to the landlord, while the other tenants were engaged in a no-rent agitation.—*Dublin Daily Express*, June 26.

June 29—Co. Kerry.—At a special Court at Castleisland, Richard J. Walsh and twelve other men were charged with having obstructed the Sheriff and his bailiffs, and with having assaulted them and the police while they were endeavouring to execute a writ for the eviction of the said Richard J. Walsh; the case was remanded until July 6.—*Freeman's Journal*, June 30.

July 2—Co. Tipperary.—At Killenaule, before a Special Court, nine men were charged with having on several occasions intimidated Michael Sparrow and Daniel Noonan, servants of Mr. Hughes, of Ballyphilip.

Mr. Kennedy, solicitor, asked to have the cases adjourned for three months, and he would give an undertaking that no such acts would be repeated against Mr. Hughes or his servants. The magistrate agreed to this in the case of five of the defendants, but the other four who were more or less prominent in the affair were bound over to be of good behaviour, or, in default, a month in gaol. One of the defendants refused to give bail.—*Dublin Daily Express*, July 3.

July 3—Co. Roscommon.—A correspondent of the *Roscommon Messenger* reports that during the past few days the agitation at Tonlagree, where cattle-driving had its origin, has been renewed with great vigour. Mr. Beirne, of Ballinasloe, has taken proceedings to recover possession of a house occupied by his herd. The herd has refused to give up possession, and last week when Mr. Beirne's son, accompanied by a force of police, attended to demand formal possession, he received a hostile reception, and had to withdraw. Nightly bands, accompanied by large crowds, paraded the farm, and a large force of armed police had the place under observation, as it was feared the stock would be cleared. Should the eviction be carried out, there is likely to be a renewal of trouble in the district.

July 3—Co. Tipperary.—Following the arrests at Thurles (see IRISH FACTS, June 22, above) John Ryan Boher, of Holycross, Michael Flynn, Senior, and Michael Flynn, Junior, of Thurles, were charged with assaulting Sergeant Mullally, and Constables Heavy and Kelly. Sergeant Mullally deposed that he with Constable Heavy saw young Flynn behaving disorderly, and when advised to go Flynn struck the constable a violent blow and knocked him down. When he went to the constable's assistance Flynn, Senior, struck him with a stick, and he received several kicks about the legs. There was a crowd of 300 people around them. He also received a blow of a stick from John Ryan Boher, who shouted, "We have them now, don't let them go; take their lives; they are Clarke's and Trant's hirelings."

The Sergeant stated that he would have been done for only that a woman came and carried him into her house, and he has been laid up ever since.

The Chairman sentenced Flynn, Junior, to two years and three months' imprisonment, and in default of giving bail of good behaviour at the expiration of that period, he would have to go to gaol for three months more. John Ryan Boher sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and at the expiration to give the same bail or three months more in default. Flynn, Senior, to be put under bail, or in default four months' imprisonment.—*Dublin Daily Express*, July 5.

July 3—Co. Roscommon.—A remarkable shooting affair occurred at Ballinlough, near Castlerea. Two young ladies named Miss Lyons and Miss M'Laughlin were cycling to their residence at Carrick, two miles distant, when a shot was fired through a hedge with the result that Miss Lyons received several pellets in the head, and Miss M'Laughlin some in the hip. They received immediate medical attendance. The occurrence has caused great excitement in the district, both ladies being popular with all classes.—*Dublin Daily Express*, July 6.

July 4—Co. Galway.—During the night a drove of 30 cattle and 10 horses were taken from various lands in the district of Moyvilla and Carnmore, and placed on the land at Ballybane.—*Belfast News Letter*, July 6.

July 4—Co. Sligo.—A donkey belonging to a man named McCormack, of Cloonloo, was found with one ear cut off clean from the skull. No motive can be assigned for the act, as McCormack is very popular in the district.—*Roscommon Herald*, July 10.

July 7—Co. Kerry.—The defendants in the Castleisland eviction case (see IRISH FACTS, June 29, above) were again brought before a Special Court at Castleisland, and when further evidence was taken, remanded to July 16.—*Freeman's Journal*, July 8.

July 7—Co. Sligo.—At the Sligo Summer Assizes, seven men were charged with unlawful assembly at Geevah, on January 8, 1908, and preventing a postman from delivering mails (see IRISH FACTS, December 1, 1908).

Mr. M'Dermott, counsel for the defence, in the course of his speech said the charge was for January 8, 1908. Since then Assize had followed Assize, and he was tired of addressing juries on the Geevah case. He

implored the jury to be unanimous in bringing in a verdict and not having the traversers going on for ever from Assize to Assize. The defendants were acquitted.—*Dublin Daily Express*, July 8.

July 8—Co. Cork.—An outrage was perpetrated near Clonbanin. About midnight a party of armed and disguised men attacked the house of a man named Riordan, who is the caretaker of an evicted farm in the locality. Shots were fired and the door of the house burst open. Two women, one of them very old, made a feeble resistance, and they were knocked down. Riordan was pulled out of his bed, and compelled to drive all the cattle off the farm. He was then warned to leave the place.

The party then proceeded to the house of a labourer, who was induced to come to the door, when he received a severe blow on the head which inflicted a serious wound. He was then pulled out on the road and beaten by several members of the attacking party. He was warned to cease work on the farm in question. The party then made off.—*Dublin Daily Express*, July 10.

July 13—Co. Tipperary.—At the North Tipperary Assizes, held at Nenagh, two men, named Thomas Gleeson and Patrick Maher, were charged with intimidating employees of Lieut.-Colonel Fitzgibbon Trant, and with preventing them from purchasing goods from certain Thurles tradesmen.

An application was made to adjourn the hearing of the trial with a view to a change of venue.

The application was granted, the prisoners being admitted to bail.—*Dublin Daily Express*, July 15.

July 14—Co. Roscommon.—Further excitement and considerable turmoil took place at Tonlagree (see IRISH FACTS, July 3). Mr. Beirne arrived to change the stock on the land, and at the same time served a notice to quit on the herd, who, it is stated, refuses to give up the house. The stock were removed amidst loud cheering and groaning, and the party, under close police protection, was followed for a considerable distance by a large crowd.—*Dublin Daily Express*, July 16.

July 15—Co. Westmeath.—At Moate Petty Sessions 15 men were charged with having on June 22 unlawfully assembled in the vicinity of Mount Temple, with intent to intimidate Michael Carroll and Francis Cunningham. Carroll is a herd in the employment of Mr. Dolan, who recently obtained a verdict awarding him damages against nine members of the Mount Temple branch of the United Irish League (see IRISH FACTS, June 14). The defendants were all bound over to keep the peace, but six of them refused, and they were committed to prison for two months. When the defendants who had refused to give bail were being conveyed to the railway station en route for Tullamore Jail, a large crowd carrying banners accompanied them and cheered as they departed.—*Irish Times*, July 16.

It is stated that one of the defendants is President of the South Westmeath Executive of the United Irish League, and Chairman of the Athlone District Council.

July 20—Co. Galway.—A correspondent of the *Irish Times* reports that on the night of July 17, the house of a farmer named Cormican, who resides in the County, was fired into but fortunately none of the inmates were injured. The alleged cause of the outrage is said to be in reference to the sale of some land, for which Cormican is negotiating the purchase.

On the night of July 19, a heifer belonging to a man named Conroy, who resides at Carna, Connemara, was hacked to pieces. The outrage occurred on the Tyrone estate, on which Conroy has some grazing.

A few days ago two houses in the Loughgeorge district, about eight miles from Galway, were fired into, but no one was injured. Three shots were fired, two being discharged at the residence of one particularly "obnoxious" party. It appears that the owners of the houses recently took up some conacre from a gentleman who has incurred the hostility of some persons in the district.

IRISH ELECTORAL REFORM.

Evidence of Captain Craig, M.P.

Over-Representation of Nationalists.

THE following is the full *précis* of the evidence which Captain Craig, Member for East Down, gave before the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform on June 24th.

Captain Craig said according to the last census returns (1901) the population of Ireland was 4,450,000. At the rate of decrease shown during the preceding decennial period I approximate the present population (1909) at 4,300,000. This population is represented by 101 members representing counties and boroughs, and two members representing Dublin University. The total number of registered electors may be taken at 690,000. Before dealing with the representation of the minority I desire to make some general observations on the present condition of affairs.

Present State of Irish Representation.

It will be noted that a different ratio of registered electors to population obtains in different parts of the country. In the County of Kerry, returning four members, the population may be taken at 171,000, the registered electors at 22,900. This gives approximately one elector to eight per head of population. In the County Antrim, also a four-member county, the population may be taken at 192,000, and the registered electors at 33,500, or approximately one elector to six per head of population. Dealing with individual constituencies, North Mayo has a population of 49,000, and only 7,000 electors; North Antrim has a population of 45,700, and 7,700 electors, an increase of 700 electors on a total population less by 4,000. Of course, numerous other instances can be given on comparison of the returns, but there is no doubt as to the inference that the smaller proportion of the electorate to the population is found in divisions which are overwhelmingly Nationalist and the larger proportion in those where there is a large Unionist vote. Obviously, the higher the percentage of the electorate the more closely the member represents the constituency. The difference in this ratio leads me to the conclusion that population *per se* is not to be taken as a safe basis for distribution affecting Parliamentary representation. There can be no justification for the power now conferred on 22,900 electors in Kerry to return four members to Parliament, while 33,000 (one-third more) in the County of Antrim are restricted to the same number. On the Kerry proportion, Antrim would be entitled to six instead of four. I further desire to draw attention to the disproportion existing between the number of registered electors in various county divisions compared with others in Ireland. It is right to point out that for the purpose of comparison

I have chosen the more extreme cases from the total list showing the electorate in every Irish constituency, which I submit to the Commission :— Longford County, with a total of 7,300 electors, has two members. Waterford County, with 8,400 electors, has two members; and King's County, with 8,900 electors, has two members; while Antrim South, with 9,924 electors, has only one member; Down North, with 9,830 electors, has one member; and Dublin South, with 11,100 electors, has one member. The first three named counties return six members, all Nationalists, with an average electorate of 4,100 for each. The last three mentioned constituencies return three members, all Unionists, with an average electorate of 10,280 electors. Dealing with entire counties, compare any one of the foregoing two-member Nationalist counties with the only two-member Unionist County of Derry, with a total of 17,600 electors. Further, taking four-member counties, the Nationalist County of Donegal, where all the members stood as Nationalists, has 26,000 electors. The Unionist County of Antrim, where all the members at least stood as Unionists, has 33,000 electors. It will be found, generally speaking, that the Unionist county constituencies have greater population, a higher percentage of registered electors, and a much smaller proportionate representation in Parliament than Nationalist constituencies with smaller electorates. This injustice should be dealt with.

Inequalities in Boroughs.

Similar inequalities will be found to exist in the case of the borough representation. I recognise that a comparison of a borough standard with a county standard does not give fair results. It is an open question as to how far it is permissible to compare a single-member borough with a division of another borough returning a member. I think myself that such a comparison can be defended. The cases of Kilkenny City (population 13,200, electors 1,541), Galway City (population 16,200, electors 2,295), and Newry (population 13,137, electors 1,986) are often mentioned and contrasted with other county constituencies in the United Kingdom. I think that their true comparison, in fairness, would be with Durham City (population 15,000, electors 2,600), Salisbury (population 19,400, electors 3,400), and Falmouth (population 16,300 electors 3,000). I am of opinion that all these small constituencies should be abolished, with the object of uniformity, but I desire to restrict my evidence of internal inequalities in Ireland. There are five one-member constituencies in Ireland returning Nationalist Members—Waterford, Limerick, Galway, Kilkenny, and Newry. Their total electorate numbers 14,300, an average of 2,900 electors for each of five members. There is only one single-member borough constituency in Ireland returning a Unionist—Derry city. The number of registered electors there is 5,400 or very nearly double the electorate average of the five Nationalist boroughs. But if it be permissible to compare one-member borough constituencies with separate divisions in other boroughs, the case is more marked when the average of 2,900 I have arrived at is contrasted with 12,200 electors in North Belfast (Unionist), or 16,500 in East Belfast (Unionist). If this comparison should be objected to, I take one which from any point of view is unimpeachable. I refer to the only two urban four-member boroughs of Dublin and Belfast. In each of these boroughs there is one

division which in each case has from time to time been represented both by a Unionist and a Nationalist in succession. I refer to the Stephen's Green division of Dublin and the West division of Belfast. This leaves three divisions in each borough which have continuously and uniformly respectively returned three professing Nationalists in Dublin and three professing Unionists in Belfast. In Dublin the total electorate for these three Nationalist divisions is 24,700—an average of, say, 8,200 for each. In Belfast the electorate for the three Unionist divisions is 39,000—an average of 13,000 for each. If the Dublin average were taken as the unit for comparison, the present three Unionist divisions in Belfast would be entitled to, approximately, two additional members.

The Illiterate Voters.

I desire under this head to draw the attention of the Commission to the existence of illiteracy in the various counties and divisions, as I wish to submit that this should be made, with or without limitation, an electoral disqualification in any rearrangement. Fifty years ago it might have been contended that the absence of adequate facilities for the education of the whole community would make such a disqualification an injustice. But for fifty years there has been the fullest opportunity for free education for all classes under the system of the National Board. The present conditions under the Ballot Act of illiterate voting, lend themselves to many abuses, the chief of which is that all secrecy and protection for the voter is destroyed. Indeed, it is well known that in centres where intimidation is prevalent, an educated voter will often take advantage of the illiterate vote in order that it may be known in what manner he has voted, turning the Act into a measure for actually securing what it was intended to prevent. The percentage of illiteracy is much heavier in Nationalist constituencies. From the last census returns the proportion of persons over five years of age, who were wholly illiterate was 26 per cent. in the four-member Nationalist County of Donegal, 8 per cent. in the Unionist four-member County of Antrim, and 9.6 per cent. in the County of Down returning three Unionists and one Nationalist. I would particularly refer to the last return for illiterate voting at elections—There being no contest in 1906 in the great majority of constituencies represented by Nationalists, it is not possible to give Donegal, to which I have referred, but reference to the parliamentary return will show that in my own County of Down, where three seats were contested in 1906, the number of illiterates voting was as follows:—

County and Division.	No. of Illiterate Voters.	Total No. of Votes Polled.	Represented by
Down, North ..	208	7,499	Unionist.
East.. ..	508	7,372	Unionist.
South ..	1,224	7,201	Nationalist.

Further, I would quote the same return :—

Galway, North ..	1,073	3,649	Nationalist.
Belfast, West ..	312	8,451	Nationalist.
North ..	100	9,550	Unionist.

It would be seen that if the system of illiterate voting as at present carried on were abolished there would be proportionately a greater diminution in the registered electorate of the Nationalist constituencies than in Unionist ones, and this element, I submit, should not be lost sight of in any proposals for redistribution.

Representation of Minorities.

The fifth head on which I desire to offer evidence relates to the position of minorities. Speaking again generally, and as a working rule, it is possible to approximate the numerical value of a political party in Ireland. The Protestant community may be taken as being overwhelmingly Unionist. The Roman Catholic, as a rule, is in active or passive sympathy with the Nationalist Party, or at least their objects. Now, in Ireland, unlike Great Britain, we have census returns of the religious professions of the inhabitants. I must here deal with population merely, as of course these are not of the registered electors. Out of the total population in 1901 of 4,450,000, 3,000,000 were Roman Catholic. In the Province of Leinster the Roman Catholic population numbered 85 per cent., the Protestants 15 per cent.; the Roman Catholic returned 28 Nationalist members, the Protestants 1 (South Dublin); on a fair proportion the numbers should be 4 to 25. The four divisions of the City of Dublin contain 233,000 Roman Catholics, and a minority of Protestants numbering 53,000, or about one-quarter, yet the latter have no parliamentary representation; on the other hand the four divisions of Belfast contain 264,000 Protestants and 84,000 Roman Catholics, yet the latter hold one seat out of four. It is right to point out that I am dealing with census returns of 1901 and the results of the election of 1906. The County of Cork contains 18,000 Protestants; it returns seven members to Parliament, none of whom represent this minority. I admit that the County of Antrim returns four Unionist members, while it has a Roman Catholic population of 38,000, but this hardship is not felt so severely by a Roman Catholic minority in a Unionist Constituency as by a Protestant minority in a Nationalist constituency. In the first place the Nationalist minority feels that it is adequately represented by 82 Nationalist members returned by their co-religionists in Ireland, while a Protestant minority can only look to 17 or 18 Irish Unionists, and, secondly, they have considerable political influence, practically denied to Unionist minorities, when, as frequently happens in Ulster, two candidates each professing Unionism contest the division in which such a minority lives. At present the four members for the County Tyrone are returned by the solid Nationalist vote. The Roman Catholic population is 80,000. The Protestant population is 75,000. Especially in Tyrone is religion and politics co-terminous; yet these 75,000 have no Parliamentary representative. In East Donegal the Roman Catholic population is 25,000, the Protestant 15,000; the latter have no representation in the county. In the County

Down the Protestants number 128,000, the Roman Catholics 54,000, and the Roman Catholics have one-fourth of the representation. My inquiries have led me to the conclusion, again speaking generally, that the system in Ireland has provided, on the whole, adequately for Nationalist minorities, but that it works hardly and without sufficient elasticity where the minority is Unionist.

Question of Proportional Representation.

I do not, however, consider that proportional representation as generally understood, with plural votes and large constituencies returning four, five, or six members, would adequately meet the case where they are practically only two parties, and these divided on one main issue, with no subordinate groups or classes of political opinions in groups or otherwise. I believe that the grievances and inequalities I have pointed out could be better met by redistribution of the existing constituencies into equal electoral areas returning single members as at present. I have carefully studied the evidence by Lord Courtney of Penwith on the subject of proportional representation given before the Commission on April 1, and, leaving Ireland out of the question, although he referred to specific cases in that part of the United Kingdom, I cannot agree that it would be a satisfactory system. My main reason for objecting to any change in the single-area constituency is that the four, five, or six members representing a large area under the proportional representation scheme would be in constant competition with one another in regard to popularity and generosity in contributing towards local religious objects, bazaars, charities, and athletic associations. The tendency would be to compete with one another not only by frequent subscriptions, but also by constant incursions into the constituency rather than by service rendered to the electorate in the House of Commons. It would also tend to a neglect of those minor interests scattered throughout every constituency in order to attend to the larger towns where the voting power was greatest. If any one of the four, five, or six members secured the whole of the votes of one large town comprising a single industry, he would be assured of election, and labourers, farmers, and fishermen (I take these for the purpose of my argument), if they were in a minority, might find that after all precautions had been taken to secure them representation, they were really neglected so far as their interests were concerned. As it is at present, with conveniently sized one-area constituencies, a member has the full responsibility of representing all classes within its boundaries, and if a candidate desires to capture votes, he must appeal to every interest, no matter how small, in order to secure his return. Moreover, at present, the personal element is naturally much more in evidence, a member is in closer touch with the various interests concerned, and looks upon his constituency as his own preserve. It is considered a point of honour that no member of Parliament or candidate should ever hold a political meeting in the constituency of another member of the same political party without first asking his permission.

Proposed Reforms.

With a view to electoral reform my proposals would be—(1) To ascertain, by recognised principles, the proportion towards the rest of the

United Kingdom to which the whole of Ireland would be entitled for her party representation. I do not claim, naturally, any specially favourable treatment for Ireland over the rest of the United Kingdom. (2) Excluding all illiterates (under 60 if necessary) to ascertain from the registered electorate as a basis the number of representatives to which the minority could fairly be held to be entitled. (Note.—This could possibly be settled at a conference between the representatives of the two Irish parties, or, failing agreement, a Commission, consisting of one person nominated on behalf of each party, and a referee chosen by such persons, could determine it.) (3) On ascertaining this figure, a Commission for Redistribution to sit, with an instruction to carry it into effect so far as possible, with power to group units where necessary, which might reasonably be expected to give the results ascertained under (2). (4) The county constituencies to have, so far as possible, a uniform standard of numbers of registered electors. Like rule for boroughs. (5) Abolition of smaller single-member boroughs to be carried out. (6) Power to revise the scheme of redistribution if the results prove that the scheme has failed in its object of securing adequate representation for the minority.—*Belfast News Letter*, June 28.

IRISH DIARY.

- July 4.**—Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., at Arklow.
- July 4.**—Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., at Tipperary.
- July 6.**—Lord Londonderry at Kennington, on "Irish Affairs."
- July 9.**—House of Commons. Irish Land Bill. Committee stage entered.
- July 11.**—Mr. C. Craig, M.P., at Orange Demonstration at Bannockburn, on the Government and Ireland.
- July 11.**—Mr. J. Devlin, M.P., at Waterford.
- July 12.**—Orange Demonstration in Belfast. Speeches by Earl of Erne, K.P., and Mr. C. Craig, M.P.
- July 18.**—Mr. J. Devlin, M.P., at Dundalk.
- July 23.**—House of Commons. Irish Land Bill. Committee. Second allotted day.
- July 30.**—House of Commons. Irish Land Bill. Committee. Third allotted day.

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IRISH FACTS.

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CURRENT NOTES.

The Constable Goldrick Fund.

We have received the subjoined letter, which will certainly meet with the approval of all those who so generously subscribed to the Fund through the agency of the Union Defence League :—

“ Royal Irish Constabulary Office,

“ Dublin Castle,

“ 13th September, 1909.

“ DEAR SIR,

At the request of Lady Fitzgerald, we undertook the administration of the fund, which was so liberally supported by a generous public, in connection with the case of the late Constable Goldrick, of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who met his death while bravely performing his duty, at Craughwell, Co. Galway, on the 22nd January last.

“ We were advised by the eminent legal authorities we consulted that it was clearly the intention of donors to the fund to benefit the ‘ family ’ of the late Constable. We ascertained from the family that it was their unanimous wish that the entire amount collected should be handed over to Mr. Michael Goldrick, father of the late Constable.

“ After deducting 13s. 8d. for printing, postage, &c., a sum of £1,870 7s. 4d. remained, which has been paid to him, and we are confident that he will exercise a prudent and equitable control over the fund which has been placed in his charge.

“ In view of the kindly and very practical interest you took in the case, we believe you will be glad to learn what has been done in the matter.

“ Faithfully yours.

“ KNIGHT OF KERRY,

“ NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, Colonel,

“ Inspector-General Royal Irish

“ Constabulary.

“ Ian Malcolm, Esq.”

Home Rule and the General Election.

Speaking in South Dublin on August 12, in support of the candidature of Alderman Cotton, Mr. John Dillon, M.P., said :—

"We have got back to the old issue of an Irish Parliament in College Green, with an executive Government responsible to it. That is the first plank, and the important plank, in our policy. That is the policy which we are thrusting forward in every election in England. That is the plank which we shall insist on being a leading one in the policy of any party which we shall support at the General Election."—*Freeman's Journal*, August 13.

The Test for Support.

Mr. Matthew Keating, M.P., speaking at a reception organised in his honour by the London A.O.H., said :—

"In 80 or 90 constituencies in England, the Irish had sufficient power to decide who the representative should be, and in these constituencies the Irish were absolutely faithful to the leaders of the Irish Parliamentary party. . . . At the next General Election the Irish Parliamentary party had decided that the shillyshally of Devolution which was believed in by some members of the Liberal party should cease, and no Liberal member would be supported by Irish votes who did not have on his banner the words, 'Home Rule for Ireland.'"—*Irish News*, August 30.

Government Favours Exhausted.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor is reported by the *Irish World* (September 11) to have stated in the *Chicago Tribune* :—

"The Irish party, if the Birrell Bill passes in acceptable shape, favours the earliest possible appeal to the country.

"This House of Commons finishing with Birrell's Bill, has used all its power of doing good for Ireland, while the next House of Commons, whatever party happens to win, will be compelled to face the Home Rule question immediately."

Over the Supper Table.

The *Irish Independent* (August 14) reprints an interesting extract from a cabled message of Mr. T. P. O'Connor to the *Chicago Tribune* :—

"The Irish Land Bill is pretty well arranged so far as the House of Commons is concerned. Redmond was angry with the postponement to which the measure has been subjected, and, on the other hand, the Government members are at their wits' ends because of the congestion of business, and the terrific fight with the terrific waste of time over the Budget. Things were approaching a crisis at the moment when the interview at supper between Lloyd George and myself took place. The next day the sky, which had been overcast, was once more sunny so far as Ireland was concerned.

"In the first place, Lloyd George sent for Redmond, had an interview with him, and words were agreed on which swept all Irish land from out the net of the land taxes, and then two Fridays were given to the Land Bill in the month of July, and a big block of time also set apart in the month of August."

This touch of autobiography throws a valuable light on the manner in which the bargains between the Government and the Irish Home Rulers are arranged across the dirty supper plates.

A Budget Mystery.

Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., speaking at a Nationalist demonstration held at Arklow on Sunday, July 4, 1909, said :—

“There is another proposal to create what is called the Development Fund. It is created this year by reason of £200,000 under this Budget, and next year vast sums of money will be paid into it. And the money is to be paid out of this fund to each country in turn in accordance with its needs; and I have the best reason to believe and to know that out of that Development Fund within the next 12 months money will surely be provided for the drainage of the Barrow and the Bann and the other rivers which are spreading desolation and ruin by their flooding throughout Ireland. Money will also be available which can be used to facilitate the purchase and amalgamation of Irish railways, under an Irish local authority. And I, therefore, took forward to this Development Fund as a means of meeting some of the greatest social and economic needs of Ireland in the near future. These things, therefore, the Irish party are supporting, and I appeal to the intelligence of Ireland to endorse our action.”—*Freeman's Journal*, July 5, 1909.

Lord Robert Cecil, in the House of Commons, on the Development and Road Improvement Bill on September 6, said :—

“Everybody knows that considerable negotiations have been going on between the Government and the Irish party in order to obtain from that party support for certain portions of the Finance Bill. The leader of that party, on July 4 last, made a speech at Arklow, in which, judging from the tone of the speech, he was defending himself against certain critics in Ireland who thought he had been too complacent with the Government in reference to the Finance Bill; and he set out in considerable detail the terms of the changes which the Government had agreed upon in the Finance Bill, and which about two months later they communicated to the House of Commons. In addition to that, this very striking paragraph occurs in the speech. (*Here Lord Robert quoted the words opposite.*) I say that that is a conclusive example of the way in which this Development Fund may be—and, if the present Chancellor of the Exchequer remains in office will be used, in order to secure political support.”

MR. LLOYD GEORGE: “Do I understand the noble Lord really to suggest that there is any pledge by the Government to give money out of this Development Fund for the draining of the Barrow and the Bann, and the nationalisation of Irish railways? If he or anybody else says so, it is not an accurate statement. Nothing of the kind has been done. At the first moment it is brought to my notice, which is this moment, I give it an emphatic contradiction.”

Seditious Posters.

The *Dublin Daily Express* (August 19) reports that the following seditious placard was found to have been posted in Dublin :—

IRELAND HONOURS
MADAR LAL DHINGRA,

WHO WAS PROUD TO LAY DOWN HIS LIFE
FOR THE CAUSE OF HIS COUNTRY.

To this the following headlines from the *Irish World* (August 14), the organ of Mr. Redmond's supporters in the United States, may be added :—

INDIAN PATRIOT HUNG.

LATEST MARTYR TO ENGLISH TYRANNY EXECUTED IN LONDON.

HIS DEATH AN INSPIRATION FOR INDIAN NATIONALISTS.

The *Dublin Daily Express* (August 12) reports the posting of an anti-enlistment placard in County Fermanagh. The headings of the poster were :—

“Traitors to Ireland—Shame ! Shame ! Shame !”

It contained the following :—

“... Irishmen, you have only one life to live. Do not disgrace yourselves and your kindred by selling yourselves to the arch-enemy of your country. . . Any Irishman who enlists under England's blood-red flag is one of the meanest curs in creation. He is a disgrace to himself, to his family, and to his country. . . Shun him as you would a mad dog or a poisonous viper. Do not enlist. Do not become armed robbers for English money-lenders. You would get the bullets ; they would get the gold.”

An Exposure.

The Irish Nationalists promised their supporters the most strenuous opposition to the Budget duties on whisky. How do they fulfil their pledge ? The Parliamentary Correspondent of the *Daily News* (September 25) throws light on the scene. He says :—

“The Finance Bill is through Committee, save for the new and the postponed clauses, which will virtually occupy next week. But there have been mischances. In the small hours of this morning the majority on the whisky duty fell to 13, and if **the Irish had not in many cases abstained from voting, the Government would have been defeated.**”

It is to be hoped that Irish Nationalist electors will have something to say about the way they have been sold.

Mr. Redmond on Mr. Healy.

Mr. T. Healy's criticism, on September 3, of the Irish Home Rulers' licensing bargain with the Government has aroused Mr. Redmond to the production of the following letter, which appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* of September 6 :—

“Dublin, 5th September, 1909.

“Dear Sir,—The proceedings in the House of Commons on Friday call for instant notice from me. At the commencement of the proceedings upon the Budget Bill the whole position was exhaustively discussed by the Irish party and a unanimous decision was arrived at. (1) That the committee which was thereupon appointed, and which has constantly met, should decide upon all amendments to be moved by the members of the party; and (2) that from day to day the action of the party should be guided by the decision of the chairman. The party has been engaged in a most successful campaign to obtain justice for Ireland in the face of great and unprecedented difficulties. It has acted with full knowledge and with the best legal and expert advice. It thoroughly understands its business. It has already obtained most substantial concessions, and I have every confidence that it will gain still greater benefits for the country on the remaining portions of the Bill.

“But it is useless to hope for successful action if members of the party can with impunity openly flout its authority, override its decisions, and give delight to Ireland’s enemies by representing the leaders of the party as fools or knaves. Mr. Healy may hold any views he pleases, but his action in the House on Friday is an open violation of his pledge to sit, act, and vote with the Irish party, and to support in Parliament and out of it any decision it arrives at. As a matter of fact, the position he took up as to the meaning of the concessions we obtained from the Government is grotesquely wrong, but my contention is that, apart from that consideration altogether, we may say good-bye to any hope of benefits for Ireland from Parliamentary methods if individual members of the Irish party openly attack their colleagues on the floor of the House of Commons and throw to the winds the obligation of their pledge.—Very truly yours,
“J. E. REDMOND.”

The American Excursionists.

Irish Nationalists have been through quite gay times. On a visit to Ireland have come Captain O’Meagher Condon, the reprieved of the “Manchester Martyrs,” and Mr. John O’Callaghan, the Secretary of the United Irish League of the United States. Patrick Forde, the editor of the *Irish World*, also received an invitation, but ill-health prevented him coming.

The tour is still being continued, and until it is finished it is better to refrain from comment. In the meantime, the following extracts from speeches delivered during the jaunt have an interest:—

At Limerick Junction, on September 5, Captain Condon said:—

“They came over to assist the Irish people in their great campaign for the restoration of the Irish Parliament.”—*Freeman’s Journal*, September 6.

And at the U.I.L. Offices on the same day:—

“If the conditions were such that it was impossible to go further in the direction of freedom than the establishment of an Irish Parliament, they were willing to drop all their notions and beliefs and help their countrymen at home.”—*Freeman’s Journal*, September 6.

Speaking at Limerick, on September 13, he bore witness to the improved condition of Ireland, saying:—

“The majority of the farmers of Ireland, he believed, had got back possession of the land. In their journey from Dublin to Wicklow, Wexford, Waterford, Mitchelstown, and Killavullen, and on Sunday to Westmeath, they had seen instead of the manure heap in front of the poor mud hut, pleasant cottages, clean and neat, with flowers in the little gardens and in the windows—a very pleasant sight. Above all, they had restored thousands of evicted tenants to the homes from which they had been driven.”—*Freeman's Journal*, September 14.

Mr. W. Redmond introduced a spirit of revolt in one of his speeches. At Dublin, at the reception of the two envoys, he said:—

“He told Captain O’Meagher Condon, after his long years of exile from Ireland, no matter what he might be told or hear, deep down in the hearts of the Irish people to-day there was the same bitter enmity to foreign rule as that which animated the men of ’67, the same enmity which enabled their martyrs to die in Manchester, the same which enabled Captain Condon to give them that watch-cry, which would last as long as Ireland lasted.”—*Freeman's Journal*, September 6.

Nationalist Threats.

Irish Nationalist M.P.’s and speakers have been busily engaged in promising a renewal of the land war should the House of Lords reject or amend the Irish Land Bill. The truce is evidently coming to an end. It has proved financially disastrous for the Irish party’s coffers. This year their funds are less by £2,000 than was the case two years ago. To renew the funds a new crusade of disorder is being preached. A begging mission to the United States is expected soon, but no one supposes that it will be undertaken until the successful inauguration of the fresh campaign against the law. Giving chances to Ministers is not a policy to induce the American Irish Nationalist to part with dollars. He wants to see some fighting for his money.

That this policy of disorder is endorsed by the Irish Nationalist leaders may be gathered from the following quotations:—

Speaking in the House of Commons on June 15, Mr. Dillon, M.P., said:—

“I was charged the other day with using an expression, which I did use, at a great meeting in the county of Tipperary—and a pretty lively county it is—to the effect that if this Bill were rejected or closed **we should be obliged to cry havoc and let slip the dogs of war. I repeat that statement in the House to-day.**”—Parliamentary Debates, Col. 924.

Speaking at Arklow on July 5, Mr. Redmond, referring to the Land Bill, said:—

“To reject the Bill would be absolute madness on their (the landlords’) part. **It would re-open the Irish Land War.** . . I shrink from the prospect of what will happen if this Bill does not pass. I invite the Irish landlords here to-day to join with us in the House of Commons in our efforts to improve that Bill. But I say to them

emphatically that **if they want war, then war they shall have.**"—*Freeman's Journal*, July 5.

Mr. J. Redmond, speaking at Waterford on September 8, repeated these threats, saying :—

"I don't know what fate the Bill may meet with in the House of Lords. It may be mutilated beyond recognition; it may be rejected altogether. In either of these cases we will come back to you in Ireland and will say to you, 'The House of Lords has wrecked the Land Bill. The duty now of Ireland is to do what she did when the House of Lords rejected the Compensation for Improvements Bill 20 years ago.' Believe me, in spite of the House of Lords, we can pass a satisfactory Land Bill for Ireland if we only choose. We will pass it on the hill-sides of Ireland. I have been through so much fight that I am not anxious for more, if we can avoid it; but I say to you here to-night, that if the landlords are mad enough to reject the Irish Land Bill, I will advise the Irish people to take vigorous action this winter, and I will not only advise them, but I will be in the front rank in conducting the campaign."—*Freeman's Journal*, September 9.

Even Mr. Cherry, a member of the Government, could not avoid adopting the same tone. Replying to Mr. Wyndham in the House of Commons on the Third Reading of the Irish Land Bill on Friday, September 17, he said :—

"We put this Bill forward as our solution of the agrarian difficulty in Ireland, and as being necessary for the settlement of the agrarian dispute. If it does not pass into law, I repeat that the responsibility for the consequences which will follow in Ireland during the coming winter must rest with those who advised its rejection."—*Parl. Deb.*, Col. 2532.

Lesser lights are busily engaged in preaching the gospel. Mr. John Fitzgibbon, Chairman of Roscommon C.C. and a member of the Congested Districts Board, speaking on August 22 at Ballintubber said :—

"He hoped that they would not have to resort to cattle-driving again; if they had to do so it would be the fault of the House of Lords. If that Bill was mutilated by the Lords, the people of other counties were waiting and were prepared to adopt Roscommon methods; and if the House of Lords did not pass the Compulsory Clause, the people of Ireland would pass it themselves."—*Roscommon Herald*, August 28.

Mr. John Fitzgibbon, speaking at Castlerea on September 18, said :—

"But should the House of Lords be so mad as to reject it, thank God the people had a weapon still. They had heart and soul to use the methods at their disposal. Their leaders had advised the people to remain low until they saw what this Bill would confer on them. Like well-disciplined soldiers, they had obeyed their leaders. But he promised them that their leaders would not advise the people to remain quiet if the Lords should be mad enough to reject the Bill."—*Freeman's Journal*, September 20.

Mr. Reddy, M.P., at Eglish :—

“If the landlords opposed the Land Bill they might look out for what would happen after.”—*Freeman's Journal*, August 31.

Mr. John O'Dowd, M.P., at Tubbercurry :—

“If the House of Lords mutilated the Bill the people would once more raise the ‘fiery cross of agitation,’ and make it hotter than ever for them.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, August 31.

Mr. Phillips, M.P., at Keenagh :—

“Have no more cattle-driving, but if the House of Lords throws out the Land Bill then do as you like. A Voice—‘Then there will be cattle-driving.’ Mr. Phillips—Perhaps a lot worse; there will be no rent.”—*Longford Leader*, August 14.

Mr. Devlin, M.P., at Boyle :—

“It would be for the House of Lords to say whether there would be peace or another agrarian revolution in the Province of Connaught.”—*Freeman's Journal*, September 20.

Mr. J. P. Hayden, M.P., at Castlerea :—

“If the people wanted the Land Bill to succeed, if they wanted to secure still greater benefits, they would preserve their organisation and strengthen it, and show to the House of Lords that they were prepared now, as in the brave days of old, to carry around the fiery cross and take their stand against those who would deprive the people of the benefits which the House of Commons would confer on Ireland.”—*Freeman's Journal*, September 20.

Mr. Cogan, U.I.L. Organiser at Kilcreevan, Co. Sligo :—

“This invincible army called the hazel brigade are still on the alert, and standing on the kopje watching the progress of the Land Bill going through Parliament, and if that measure is a failure they are prepared to step into the field at a given signal.”—*Sligo Champion*, July 24.

Mr. John M'Hale, U.I.L. Organiser at Breaffy, Castlebar :—

“The people should have hope and show the enemies of the Bill, the landlords and the House of Lords, that if they did not pass it there was some of the old medicine in store for them.”—*Western People*, July 24.

Rev. Martin Henry, P.P., at Foxford :—

“If that Bill does not pass—if it is thrown out by the House of Lords—the time will then have come when you must take the matter in your own hands, and no power and no efforts will stop you from doing so. . . . We issue this warning to-day—that if the Bill does not pass, no matter what Government is in power, it will be in for trouble.”—*Irish Times*, August 31.

A Bully and a Coward.

It is to be doubted whether any Minister has ever cut so sorry a figure as Mr. Birrell in the House of Commons on September 15. The Government only allowed two days for the Report Stage of the Irish Land Bill, notwithstanding its long, complex, and contentious nature, and the lack of anything like adequate discussion in Committee. Even this brief debating time was shortened by Mr. Birrell proposing to re-commit

the Bill for the purpose of inserting certain Government amendments. To the perfectly reasonable request that the time so taken from the allotted purpose of debate on the report stage, Mr. Birrell declined to accede. "Not a single moment," said Mr. Birrell, the bully. "Don't debate my amendments, and no time will be occupied."

A short time later the Chief Secretary became Mr. Birrell, the coward. It arose through an amendment by Mr. Birrell himself to extend the date, after which no holdings could be regarded as established for purposes of land purchase, from January 1, 1908, to September 15, 1909. Since it represented a "concession" to opponents, the Irish Home Rulers were up in arms at once. They pelted the Chief Secretary with strong language, preaching open violence if he dared not to accede to their demand.

Mr. Cullinan described Mr. Birrell's action as "outrageous," and he warned the Attorney-General that "he may find it necessary to put the engines of his law and legal power into force against us." "If you do consent," he concluded, "to insert such a clause, then let the consequences be on your own heads."—(*Col. 2218.*)

Mr. Kilbride said that if the amendment passed, the Attorney-General "can brighten up his old rusty weapons for use, and can prepare for active work in Ireland. Because, so far as I am concerned, I shall do everything I can, to quote the phrase in a letter of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach when he was Chief Secretary for Ireland, 'Either within the law, or without the law,' to defeat the object of the amendment." . . . He (Mr. Birrell) will have to face such a state of things in Ireland, especially across the Shannon, that neither his Government nor any previous Government had to face. . . To accept the amendment will mean that you can increase your military forces from 40,000 to 80,000."—(*Cols. 2222-3.*)

Mr. John O'Dowd said that "if the right hon. gentleman persists in his amendment he may as well abandon his Bill altogether, because it will not be accepted by the people, and it will only lead to the renewal of the land war."—(*Col. 2225.*)

In the face of this cataract of intimidation and threats of disorder from his allies, Mr. Birrell surrendered. He abandoned his amendment, leaving it to the Nationalists to tell against it, and actually voting against it himself. Never was there a more abject recantation. In the eyes of his countrymen Mr. Birrell has cast from him the last shreds of self-respect. He is a Minister ruled by the Irish Home Rulers, without the slightest powers of refusing their demands.

Invidious Praise for Mr. Birrell.

Mr. C. W. P. Cogan, a U.I.L. organiser, speaking at a meeting held at Bunninadden on Sunday, August 22, said :—

"At that time I think it is the proudest period of my history, that on August 16, 1907, 3,000 went in to the Douglas ranch in the County of Longford, and drove every bullock from the ranch. Immediately after that we heard the cry from an English Chief Secretary for the first time, 'For God's sake, boys, keep quiet.' He sent hundreds of his bludgeon men, he sent his soldiers and policemen there to meet us, yet they were unable to deter us in the business at heart. Mr. Birrell came down and said, 'For God's sake, boys, give me a chance. I will legislate for you. Give me a chance and

I will have a Bill introduced at the earliest opportunity in the House of Commons which will acquire those ranches for you.' Yes, Mr. Birrell has got his chance, and nobly he has done his work as far as lay in the power of an Irish Chief Secretary, and he got the thanks of the Irish people."—*Sligo Champion*, August 28.

Mr. Birrell must be a proud man. Mr. Cogan has given him a testimonial for his good work, but the recommendation will hardly improve Mr. Birrell's position in the minds of his own countrymen.

Mr. Birrell Apologises to the Cattle-drivers' Leader.

The following correspondence has taken place between the Chief Secretary and Mr. John Fitzgibbon :—

" Irish Office, Old Queen Street, London,

" September 3rd, '09.

" Dear Sir,—I am sorry if anything I said the other day in the House has given you cause for annoyance. My grounds for making the reference to you that I did were these: Some speakers behind the Opposition Front Bench represented you as being so strong an advocate of the 'landless men,' as they are called, as to exclude from your mind the possibility of doing anything for migrants, and they based this upon some words attributed to you to the effect that the people in one parish must get 'all the land in that parish.' As against this it was contended by the Nationalist Party that your views were generally to the effect that, though the 'landless' men must receive consideration, the claims of the migrants were not to be overlooked. It was in consequence of this seeming contradiction that I made the observations that I did.

" Nothing is more difficult than to express one's views concisely and clearly as between rival claimants, and I hope I am right in assuming that, whilst an advocate of the fair claims of those who live in a parish, you are by no means opposed to consideration being also given to the claims of migrants from the congested districts.—Believe me, yours truly,

" AUGUSTINE BIRRELL.

" J. Fitzgibbon, Esq."

" Castlereagh, September 7th, 1909.

" Right Honourable A. Birrell, M.P.

" Dear Sir,—I am much obliged for yours of the 3rd instant, and for the information it contains. If you be good enough to refer to that portion of my evidence given before the Dudley Commission on 22nd March, 1907, and which appears in pages 152, 153, and 154 in the Appendix to the Fifth Report, you will see fully expressed my views as to the preferential treatment that should be given to the relief of congestion in the distribution of the untenanted lands. I never made the statement attributed to me by the gentleman sitting behind the Front Opposition Benches. On the contrary, I have invariably stated that the settlement of the people on the fertile plains ought to be made a National, and not a parish or local, question, but I did say that in order that the difficulties of which we hear so much from the opponents of your Bill should be met, and the work of migration run smoothly, care should be taken that the occupiers of uneconomic holdings living in the vicinity or parish

in which the untenanted lands are situated, should receive at least equal treatment to that of migrants taken from a distance.

"Let me say, in conclusion, that if there is placed at the disposal of the newly-constituted Congested Districts Board, as well as at the disposal of the Estates Commissioners, all the untenanted lands of our country, and by which I mean all non-residential grazing farms, no matter under what conditions they are held, there will then be a joint sufficient in size, not alone to carry out the relief of congestion, but to go a very long way in providing for the sons of small tenant farmers.—I remain, yours truly,

"JOHN FITZGIBBON."

The Hazel Again.

Without the pretence of waiting for the fate of the Land Bill, the Delvin Branch of the U.I.L. has passed the following resolution:—

"That the time has now come to revive the great anti-ranching movement, as laid down at the great Downs' meeting, as we have practical evidence of the good results of this movement in Killulagh, Cooksboro', and other parts of the county, and we hereby call upon all the Branches in this county that are not bossed by grazier influence, to hold great anti-ranching demonstrations during the autumn, and by united and concerted action make ranching impossible."—*Midland Reporter*, August 19.

Opposition to Migrants.

The Irish Land Bill gives the new Congested Board extensive powers in the way of compulsory acquisition of land to enable them to deal with congestion. Congestion, however, can only be solved by migration. Congested families must be moved to other parts. But Irish Nationalists, instead of expressing sympathy with their needy countrymen, are determined to oppose the migrants; and not to give them help and assistance to be successful in the opportunity afforded them of a new life.

This selfish spirit is not rebuked by the Irish Nationalist leaders. Instead, the local people are backed up in their hostility to the migrants. Mr. John Fitzgibbon, the Chairman of the Roscommon County Council, and a member of the present Congested Districts Board, for example, on August 22 attended a meeting at Ballintubber, where fully 2,000 persons are said to have been present, which was held, "For the purpose of protesting against the action of the Congested Districts Board in bringing migrants into the district before the people of the locality were first supplied with land." In the course of his speech, Mr. Fitzgibbon is reported to have said:—

"I can assure you that the people in this parish with uneconomic holdings will get the land first. When the people at home are provided first, then we will bring others."—*Roscommon Herald*, August 28.

Previously, at a meeting of the Ballintubber Branch of the United Irish League, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"That we protest in the strongest manner against the action of the Congested Districts Board in their contemplated erecting of houses on the farm of Wills Grove, for the purpose of bringing further migrants into the district, contrary to the promises held

out to us from the Congested Districts Board through our representative, Mr. J. O. Hayden, M.P., that those lands would not be divided until the new Land Bill would be law, and which would empower the Congested Districts Board to distribute those lands so as to increase the uneconomic holdings of the adjoining tenants. We now pledge our intention to obstruct the operations of the Congested Districts Board in distributing these lands to migrants until the demands of the adjoining tenants to increase their present uneconomic holdings are first conceded, and then that any land which remains the Congested Districts Board can give to any migrants they please."

—*Midland Reporter*, August 19.

The *Connacht Champion* (August 14) reports the following protest made by the Kilreecle Branch of the United Irish League:—

"We, the members of the Kilreecle Branch of the U.I.L., protest against outsiders coming for land in our parish whilst there is plenty of young men in our midst having no way to prosper only to go to America, and we urge the Estates Commissioners to give the land to the people in their own parish who fought and suffered for same."

The list of resolutions of the same nature could be prolonged indefinitely. Evidence, however, clearly shows that considerable opposition will be experienced if the Congested Districts Board resolutely determines to pursue the policy of relieving congestion.

"The Wounded Soldiers."

"The wounded soldiers of the land war" is an excellent phrase for platform purposes; but in practice how different is the treatment the evicted tenants receive from their countrymen. In the Estates Commissioners' Report for 1908-9, we read:—

"The Commissioners have found that the difficulties referred to in the following statement made in their last annual report have increased rather than diminished in the interval:—

"They (the Commissioners) find that where they have acquired untenanted land, and have offered new holdings on it to evicted tenants whose former holdings are now in the occupation of *bona fide* tenants who cannot be disturbed, the evicted tenants have in several cases refused to accept new holdings, expecting to be restored to those from which they were evicted. In other and more numerous cases the people of the locality claim that the untenanted land acquired, or proposed to be acquired, by the Commissioners, should be reserved for themselves, and oppose the allocation of any portion of it to tenants evicted from other properties whose former holdings cannot be acquired, and consequently the evicted tenants, though at first willing to take the new holdings, subsequently refused to do so. These difficulties are greatest in counties where there is a number of evicted tenants whose former holdings are occupied by *bona fide* tenants, while the amount of untenanted land available is small in comparison with the demands for it. The experience of the Commissioners is that the holders of uneconomic holdings and the sons of tenants think they have a better claim to land in their own locality than evicted tenants from another locality, and they have little sympathy with evicted tenants from other properties, and still less with those of other counties.'"—Page 18.

An Undertaking and the Consequence.

In the course of his speech in the House of Commons on February 23 on the Debate on the Address, Mr. Butcher said :—

“ I will mention another case. It is that of Mrs. Hall in County Clare. I heard no mention of this case in the extremely cold and unilluminating summary which the Chief Secretary read out. Mrs. Hall sold a small agricultural land estate to tenants about 18 months ago. She retained her demesne land in her own hands, and a few months ago the United Irish League started an agitation to have the whole of the demesne land divided among local landless men. She refused; she was boycotted. Her agent was forced to resign, next her herd, next a labourer, next her gardener. Her hay was burnt. She has four constables and a sergeant in her house and patrols outside, and this lady is nearly 80 years of age!

“ She writes a letter, from which I will give an extract. It was written after her barn was burnt down. She writes :—

“ ‘ I hope you can read my handwriting, but my hand is shaky. How little England knows of our sufferings; and if they do they don't seem to care if we are all shot down. But I will fight for my house to my last breath, and when I die there are others as determined.’

“ ‘ Shouts of ‘ No ’ from below the Gangway mean nothing, but let the hon. gentlemen who shout ‘ No ’ disprove what I say.’—*Parl. Deb.*, Col. 691.

Referring to Mr. Butcher's charge, Mr. Dillon said :—

“ But there was another case mentioned by the hon. member for Cambridge, of an old lady in the County Clare, who, he said, is boycotted because she will not give up her home. All I can say about that case is this, if the facts are as stated by the hon. Member for Cambridge, we are ready in the Dublin League to use the whole strength of our organisation to rescue that old lady. But we have never heard anything of the facts.”—*Parl. Deb.*, Feb. 24, Col. 768.

Mr. Birrell when questioned entirely corroborated Mr. Butcher's facts, saying :—

“ I regret to say that the facts of Mrs. Hall's case are as stated. The case is a bad one, but the police are as vigilant and active as they can be, and I am informed that there are signs of improvement. The denunciation by the parish priest of the burning of Mrs. Hall's barn may have had some effect.”—*Parl. Deb.*, March 25, Col. 1901.

It only remained for Mr. Dillon to fulfil his undertaking. This he did. At a meeting of the Standing Committee of the United Irish League, in Dublin, the Clooney Branch of the League was dissolved. So far the matter had been plain sailing. Trouble arose, however, with the local people. They did not see why they should be punished for an act which other branches of the League were allowed to indulge in without interference from the Head Office, and indeed often at the direct instigation of those above them in the organisation. The East Clare Executive of the U.I.L. showed its opinion of their leader's action by electing the chairman of the Clooney Branch President of the Executive. A resolution was also adopted at the meeting requesting the Directory to re-open the case, and institute a full and searching

inquiry into the alleged irregularity. The Clooney Branch are not going to take it lying down. The Leaguers in the country would seem to be so out of hand as to be uncontrollable by those who profess to lead them.

At a further meeting of the East Clare Executive on September 18 the Clooney Branch was exonerated, and the National Directory was asked to reinstate the Branch. There the matter rests.

In connection with the dispute, the following pathetic letter from Mrs. Hall will be read with interest :—

It appeared in the *Clare Saturday Record*, and was re-published in the *Dublin Daily Express* (September 20) :—

“Clooney, September 13th, 1909.

“Dear Sir,—After seeing the report of the East Clare meeting of the U.I. League in the *Record* of last Saturday I feel constrained to write you a statement of the persecution I received from some Clooney people. I write as 'tis due to myself and all my many kind friends who interested themselves for me, to show all the persecution I received, and which has led to the Clooney League being dissolved. First, I used to let my lands for grazing to respectable tenants. This was stopped, and the herdsman got notice he should not herd if the land was let. I had ten acres of meadow. I could not get anyone to cut it for me, but the butler cut as much as did my horse. Later on the cattle were turned into the remainder to try and eat it down. Our agent was summoned to the League. He went, and was given his choice of giving up my agency or of having all his auctions boycotted. Of course he gave up the agency. Next the herdsman got notice to leave. He came to me on the next Monday after the League meeting and said he was going to give up the herding. I said, ‘Would you not wait until the lambing?’ He said, ‘No, I would be shot if I remained an hour.’ He went, of course. Then a labourer was ordered to leave, which he did. Then the gardener came to me and told me he should leave. He said he ‘would try and stay if he could, . . . until the next meeting,’ after which he came to me and said he would have to leave, and he left.

“Our new agent bought some hay at great expense. A few nights after I was awakened and told the hay was on fire. I watched it burning all the night and part of the next day, and the splendid barn a ruin. Since then my property and I are well protected, night and day, as I have six policemen and a sergeant in my house. May they long remain with me! I forget to mention my boycotting was denounced by two priests at Clooney Chapel. The Clooney League was aware of this persecution. I should like to know if it had their approval. Perhaps some of them will answer this question at the next meeting on Saturday. I must apologise for the length of my letter, and hope for its insertion as soon as possible.

“ELLEN HALL.”

Extra Police Charges.

The Irish County Councils are still refusing to pay for the extra police which the Liberal Government find necessary for the maintenance of order. The amounts show how heavy is the cost of Birrellism on the Irish ratepayers.

The *Kilkenny People* (August 17) reports that the South Tipperary County Council rejected a demand for £314 for extra police.

The Meath County Council's bill for extra police for the six months ending March 31, 1909, amounts to £570 12s. 7d. The *Leinster Leader* (July 31) records a discussion at a meeting of the Council when payment was refused.

The Clare County Council have declined to pay the £2,640 18s. 6d. demanded for extra police to March 31, 1909.—*Irish Times*, September 1.

From the Galway County Council (Dublin papers, August 4) no less than £13,809 15s. 11d. is demanded for extra police, less £3,417 17s. 7d. in the shape of Government grants. As the bank overdraft is £19,590 19s. 10d., the financial position of the county cannot be considered satisfactory. It was decided to ask the Constabulary authorities to postpone payment until next year, or to apply to the Local Government Board for a loan.

In the four counties of Tipperary, Meath, Clare, and Galway the amount that the ratepayers are not called upon to pay for extra police is nearly £14,000. That is the price of Birrellism. No wonder the people do not think it worth the cost. What nonsense, too, it is for the Government and the Irish Nationalists to assert that Ireland is peaceful while these unpaid bills for disorder are on record.

Nationalist "Unity."

From the *Belfast News Letter* (September 22):—

"In the little village of Thomastown, about four miles from Birr, wild scenes were witnessed on the 19th inst. The English Branch of the United Irish League desired to make a collection for the Parliamentary Fund, and for that purpose they placed a table outside the door of Thomastown Chapel. Mass over, the collection was begun, but immediately some members of another Branch, Drumcullen, which is in the centre of the Thomastown district, objected to the collection and set about preventing its being made. Extraordinary scenes followed, in which the table was smashed to pieces, and a hand-to-hand conflict ensued. The police, however, intervened, and as a result a man was detained in the barrack for some time."

Leaguers only.

From the *Sligo Champion* (September 11):—

"In course of a conversation with our worthy M.P., on last Sunday, we were informed by him that in this district in the near future a division of the waste lands would take place, and that in order to secure divisions for the most deserving amongst the landless and uneconomic holders, a list of members should be taken from amongst the staunch Nationalists of our district who are members of the United Irish League. All future applicants for cottages will not be entertained unless they are members of the National Organisation, and as a large number of cottages are still available for the district, labourers who are members of our Branch should come forward at once and hand in their names so that their claims would go before the Council in due course."

A Home Rule Deadlock.

How Irishmen manage their own affairs is illustrated in Gorey. The *Freeman's Journal* (August 5) reports:—

"An extraordinary situation has arisen in the municipal life of Gorey. There has been **no meeting of the Town Commissioners since March**, the result being that the business which would come within the sphere of that body remains at a standstill, and a deadlock exists in the affairs of the town generally. For a couple of years past relations have been somewhat strained between two sections of the Commissioners, the large representation secured by the Labour Party at successive elections being keenly resented by the remainder of the Board. The climax has now been reached, the latter section having consistently declined to attend and associate in the transaction of the business with the Labour representatives, who number four as against five on the other side. It being necessary, according to the Act under which the Commissioners received their charter, to have five in attendance to form a quorum, and the Labour members being short of that number by one, things remain as stated. As usual, the monthly meeting was summoned for Tuesday night, but only four Labour representatives turned up."

Before Irish Nationalists demand Home Rule for national matters, it would be as well to show the country that they are fit to manage local affairs.

The Post Office Boycotted.

From the *Dublin Daily Express* (September 2) :—

"The appointment of postmistress to Craughwell Post Office having become vacant some time ago, a number of applicants sought the position. Amongst them was a local lady who, it appears, was engaged to be married to a constable stationed in the locality.

"A notification was received from the General Post Office a few weeks ago announcing the appointment of the constable's *fiancée*. Every possible obstacle was put in the way of the lady procuring a house suitable for a Post Office, all the residents in Craughwell refusing to let a house, or even apartments.

"The only way out of the difficulty was to erect a new building, and the constable, having obtained a site, went to Castleblakeney, where he succeeded in employing masons and labourers for the erection of the new Post Office.

"On the day appointed the masons and labourers left Castleblakeney on two cars for Craughwell to start the building. At Craughwell there were about 40 policemen present to protect the imported men.

"As soon as the newcomers arrived at the site hundreds of people assembled, and shouting, booing, and hooting were begun, the result being that the masons and labourers declined to work, and returned to Castleblakeney."

War on the War Office.

The War Office proposes to acquire land near Limerick for a rifle range. It is described by the Irish Office as being "mostly very rough heather land." Mr. Willie Redmond, M.P., is, however, up in arms against the outrage. He has written to Mr. Birrell (the correspondence is published in the *Limerick Leader*, September 6) telling him that "there is too little land in this country available for the people, and under the

circumstances the War Office has no right to act the part of a land grabber. If the people are kept out of the land of Clare by soldiers there will, no doubt, be much discontent and trouble." War on the War Office will be quite a novelty, but it is expected that Mr. Redmond, having protested, will rest content. To carry the matter further would evidently be against the alliance.

Satisfied "Patriots."

The Irish Home Rulers are rapidly being faced with a serious financial crisis. The Irish Parliamentary Fund has fallen off considerably, and soon the funds will be insufficient to pay the members' salaries. In August, 1907, the Party's coffers had received £5,454; last year it fell to £4,930; and this year there has been a further reduction to £3,554.

This inability to collect funds is not owing to the fact that their constituents are becoming poorer. On the contrary, they are better off, as Mr. Butcher's return (See IRISH FACTS, p. 291) bears witness. But they prefer to deposit their savings in the Post Office or Trustee Savings Banks instead of passing it on to Mr. Redmond; and who shall blame their choice? Many of them have gained their desire and have purchased their farms. Being now in the position of landed proprietors, they naturally look on agitation and lawlessness from a different standpoint than in their more irresponsible days. Evidence of this is proved by the plaint of the Tarmonbarry and Whitehall Branch (Co. Roscommon) of the U.I.L. Reporting of the Parliamentary Fund, the Branch says:—"The amount could have been larger were it not for the uncouth disposition of a great many non-subscribers in some townlands, who practically ignored the several and tiring appeals made by the committee-men, still, no remittance was offered to aid the Fund, **though a good many are in receipt of bonuses from the State.**"—*Roscommon Herald*, July 24.

The country, too, is ringing with speeches like the following, delivered by Mr. David Sheehy, M.P., at a meeting held under the auspices of the A.O.H. at Downpatrick on August 15:—

"We need more than voice approval. The Irish Party is composed of poor men, almost every one of them as poor as I am myself, and if you wanted the loan of sixpence, I could not give it to you. If the Irish party were to stay in London, dreary week after dreary week, and month after month, how were they to be maintained? They had no gold-mines and no moneys in the funds, so they must be supported by the Irish people, not so much out of the spirit of generosity as out of the spirit of patriotism."—*Irish News*, August 16. No wonder the Irish Parliamentary Party support Mr. Birrell's Bill for paralysing Land Purchase.

Then, again, the Budget imposes upon Irishmen of all classes so heavy an amount of extra taxation that all the bargainings between the Government and the Irish Nationalists cannot wholly remove. Such evidence of failure does not lend itself to readiness of subscriptions.

More significant still is the deduction which can properly be drawn of the utter absence of enthusiasm for Home Rule among the Irish people. When they are no longer ready to support what Irish Nationalist leaders assert to be the first plank, now and always, in their programme, it is evident that no Government would be justified in forcing upon a reluctant people a measure of self-government.

It is, perhaps, this falling-off of revenue which has moved the Irish Nationalist Leaders to sanction the candidature of men of the type of Alderman Cotton. For of him the Chairman at the inaugural meeting is reported to have said :—

“Alderman Cotton had plenty of money, which he was prepared to spend very liberally in aid of the national cause, though they would find out before the coming campaign was at an end that he was not a very polished speaker.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, August 13.

Alderman Cotton's qualification, too bluntly put by the speaker for the *Freeman's Journal* to report, must be a strong recommendation to Mr. Redmond at the present time.

An Unrepresentative League.

Mr. Dermot O'Brien, speaking at the East Waterford Executive on August 28, made an interesting admission which goes to prove the uninteresting character of the U.I.L. He said :—

“Although there were 21 parishes in East Waterford, only six had subscribed for the present year to the Parliamentary Fund, and only five branches had been affiliated, and judging by the meeting there to-day, these five branches were not very active.”—*Freeman's Journal*, August 31.

The neighbouring constituency of Waterford City is represented by the head of the United Irish League. If the leader cannot maintain a satisfactory organisation in his own immediate neighbourhood, what must the condition of the League be in districts more remote from his influence ?

Expelled for Loyalty.

As an illustration of the spirit of disloyalty which animates the United Irish League, the following report from the *Dublin Daily Express* (August 2) will be useful :—

“At a meeting of the joint branches of the United Irish League, held in Derry last night (July 31), the action of a number of Nationalist members of the Corporation, who are also members of the League, in attending the recent civic functions was discussed. Speakers stated that attendance at the festivities in connection with the Irish Society's reception, where the King's health was drunk, was contrary to the principles of the League membership. None of the members concerned attended the meeting, accordingly a resolution was adopted expelling them, and removing their names from the books. It is stated that the decision affects five Nationalists.”

An Apology to the League.

From the *Midland Reporter* (July 29) :—

“At a meeting of the Longford Branch of the United Irish League the secretary said :—‘There was a letter there, which he received from Mr. S. Wilson, J.P., against whom a complaint was preferred at a previous meeting for supplying sheep dip.’

“Mr. Wilson wrote :—

“ ‘Dear Sir,—Yours of the 10th to hand, asking me to attend at the League and to explain why sheep dip was sold to Harris Martin. Owing to service being carried on in my Church at the hour of your meeting, I cannot attend, and hope you will accept this explanation. I am informed that Martin came to my door, and got four packets of sheep dip. I was out, and my assistant, who was only with me a month, did not know him, and supplied him. It is not true that the dip was delivered on his trap by Mr. Feeney, and it is not fair to accuse him with it.—Yours, &c.,

“ ‘S. WILSON.’

“ CHAIRMAN : You are all aware of the circumstances of that case, and you have heard Mr. Wilson’s explanation.

“ MR. DUFFY : He could not be accountable when he was not there, but I would like to know if he has a second assistant, who is there more than a month ?

“ A VOICE : He was away in Dublin that day.

“ CHAIRMAN : That accounts for it.

“ MR. J. P. FARRELL : I think under the circumstances Mr. Wilson’s explanation is satisfactory.

“ Subsequently Mr. Wilson’s explanation was accepted unanimously.”

League Persecutes Women.

From the *Northern Whig* (August 21):—

“ Some days ago an auction of meadowing, the property of Mrs. Hanorah Hogan, of Ballyvaurneen, near Thurles, who has been for a considerable time subjected to a vigorous boycott, took place, and Mr. Andrew Ryan was the purchaser. As the men were preparing to cut the meadows on Thursday they discovered that numerous large spikes and pieces of iron had been driven into the ground, and they were obliged to discontinue their operations and remove the obstacles, which took several hours. The result is that the lands have been considerably trampled on, and it will be difficult to save the crop. A mowing machine on the lands was also found broken and rendered useless.

“ Mrs. Hogan recently took proceedings against some people for causing obstruction to her agricultural operations. It is expected that a claim for malicious injury will be lodged.

“ The windows of a house occupied by Miss Hogan in Stradavoper Street, Thurles, were smashed with stones on Thursday night. The glass and frames in four of the windows were completely shattered, and the panels of the shutters, which were closed at the time, were broken. The house yesterday morning presented a wrecked appearance. The police discovered several large stones, each of them being about 14 lb. weight, inside in the rooms, where the tables and other furniture were also damaged.

“ The house was occupied some time ago by a tenant who was evicted by Miss Hogan’s mother, and Mrs. Hogan and her family were vigorously boycotted. This is the second occasion on which the windows have been smashed. At the last Quarter Sessions Miss Hogan was awarded £8 compensation.”

Another instance comes from Longford. Mr. Carserley, President of the Killashee and Clondra Branch, is reported in the *Longford Leader* (August 3) to have said at a meeting of the Branch :—

“The complaint against Mathews was first brought up and they were unanimously condemned for allowing grabber Jones into their house. It is an old saying: ‘They who love the danger shall perish in it.’ There are still some ladies in Killashee who are associating with the grabber. One lady from Templetown who was seen cycling with him, and another lady from Killashee, who was called on before; their names will go in in full if there is any more complaints about them.”

LIFE IN IRELAND.

A Diary of Outrages, etc., under Radical Rule.

"Ireland is quiet now."—Mr. Birrell, House of Commons, July 21.

"Where is the crime and terrorism in Ireland? . . . The country is in a state of absolute tranquility and peace."—Mr. Redmond, Arklow, July 4.

July 18—Co. Galway.—The village of Lisheenavalla, near Castle Lambert, was the scene of two shooting outrages of an agrarian nature, when two farmers' houses were visited by a large party of armed men, who fired several shots through the doors and windows. Some of the inmates had some very narrow escapes from being hit with the deadly missiles. It is stated that the cause of the outrage is that both the victims have been working for a North of Ireland man on a grass farm in the locality which the tenants in the neighbourhood require for holdings.—*Connaught Champion*, July 24.

July 19—Co. Galway.—At the Galway Summer Assizes, held at Galway, an application was made to postpone the trial of the two prisoners Dermody and Hynes, who are charged with the murder of the late Police-constable Goldrick (see IRISH FACTS, March 21 and April 27) in order that such steps might be taken as the Attorney-General considers most advantageous in the furtherance of justice. Mention was made of the disturbed condition of the district, and the opinion was expressed that many juries would in consequence be deterred by fear from returning a verdict. The application was granted.—*Irish Times*, July 20.

July 19—Co. Galway.—At the Galway Summer Assizes, held at Galway, Patrick Howley, John Howley, William Linnane and Martin Fitzgerald were indicted for unlawful assembly and for assaulting Sergeant Coughlin and Constable Doherty, at Peterswell, on January 21 (see IRISH FACTS, January 21 and February 18). The evidence went to show that the sergeant was the recipient of a terrible cut on the head inflicted by a blow from a shovel, which fractured his skull and severed an artery, which necessitated his discharge from the police force. Constable Doherty was also struck on the head with a spade. The jury were unable to agree, and the prisoners were put back for trial at the next Assizes.—*Irish Times*, July 20.

July 24—Co. Limerick.—A dastardly outrage was perpetrated on a farm at Ballygoughlin, near Glin. During the night the legs of a cow were cut off.—*Limerick Leader*, July 28.

July 26—Co. Meath.—A correspondent of the *Belfast News Letter* reports that 100 head of cattle have been driven off the lands of Newtownmoynagh. The cattle were owned by a Mr. Markey, Clonsilla. A gate leading to the lands was taken off its hinges and carried away.

July 26—Co. Galway.—At the Galway Petty Sessions, John Lally, senr., John Lally, junr., and Matthew Lally were charged with intimidating one Thomas Riordan. Evidence was given that Riordan had purchased a farm known as Boleybeg, and had some cattle on it to graze on May 9. Soon after, when he visited the farm, he found the walls knocked down and the cattle gone. He had the walls built up, and placed the cattle on the land again. They were again driven off and the walls tumbled down. On July 11 he was passing Patrick Lally's house when the defendants commenced groaning at him and called him a "grabber." Riordan further stated that he was in fear and terror of his life from the demeanour of the defendants towards him. The defendants were bound over to be of good behaviour for 12 months, or in default one month's imprisonment. Bail was given.—*Dublin Daily Express*, July 27.

July 28—Co. Westmeath.—At Glasson Petty Sessions James and Peter Donelan, two farmers, were prosecuted for assaulting James Gibbons on July 5. The occurrence arose out of what is locally known as the Drumraney farm dispute. Gibbons is in possession of an evicted farm formerly occupied by the Donelans. The defendants were bound over to keep the peace.—*Dublin Daily Express*, July 29.

July 30—Co. Cavan.—A correspondent of the *Northern Whig* reports that while returning from Cootehill fair, Thomas Walker, an emergency man, was fired at from behind a hedge, and shot in the face and chest.

August 2—Co. Clare.—A most determined shooting outrage was perpetrated at Toonagh, near Ennis, the victims being a man named Michael Mackey and a lad named Dan Custy, about 12 years of age. Particulars show that they were returning home from Lisdoonvarna when about eight gun-shots were fired from a shrubbery on the roadside. The boy was riddled along the back and sides with pellets, and Mackey received about a dozen on the back and shoulders. There is no clue to the perpetrators.—*Irish Times*, August 3.

August 3—Co. Kerry.—The defendants in the Castleisland eviction case (see IRISH FACTS, June 29 and July 4) were again brought up before a special court at Castleisland, and further evidence was taken. After a brief deliberation, Mr. Wynne, one of the magistrates, announced that he was in favour of sending the accused for trial, but his brother magistrates were for refusing informations. The accused were then discharged.—*Dublin Daily Express*, August 4.

August 4—Co. Galway.—Patrick Conlon, a small farmer, was on his way home from the Galway races driving a horse and cart. When near Clarenbridge several shots were fired at him, and he was struck by several pellets. The horse was also slightly injured. The motive assigned for the outrage is that Conlon has taken up work on an evicted farm in the neighbourhood.—*Dublin Daily Express*, August 9.

August 5—Co. Kerry.—Two men named Daniel and Edward Dowling were charged at Listowel with having, on July 27, discharged a gun at Jeremiah Driscoll, a farmer's son. Driscoll deposed that on the date in question he was drawing stone from a quarry in carts, and while there he saw two men in the gap about 14 yards away. He would swear the prisoners were the men. Daniel Dowling had a gun with which he aimed

at him and fired, and he felt himself hit over the right eye and left breast. He drove away as fast as he could. Daniel again fired at him, and Edward then took the gun and fired, but missed. Prisoners were remanded, bail being refused.—*Irish Times*, August 6.

August 7—Co. Clare.—At Kilkee Petty Sessions, Michael Haugh, senr., Michael Haugh, junr., John Haugh, and Thomas Haugh were charged with assaulting Under-Sheriff A. R. Martin and two bailiffs on June 30, whilst making a seizure. Mr. R. Martin, in his evidence, said that on the date in question he went to Corbally to execute a civil bill against Michael Haugh, and was accompanied by three assistants and two constables. He (the witness) called upon Michael Haugh, senr., for the amount of the decree, and on his refusal to pay he warned him that he would take sufficient assets to meet the debt. He (the witness) directed one of his assistants (Mr. Ryan) to take down a fishing net, and Thomas Haugh then hit Ryan on the back of the head with the tongs. The other defendants then appeared on the scene, and they assaulted him and his two assistants, and in consequence of this they had to withdraw from the house, where a large hostile crowd had assembled, and it became necessary for himself and one of the constables to draw their revolvers for the safety of the party. Other evidence was given, but the magistrates refused information.—*Dublin Daily Express*, August 9.

August 7—Co. Tipperary.—Considerable excitement prevailed in the district of Newchapel, Clonmel. A small farm on the Moore estate, from which a man named Slattery and his family were previously evicted, was taken by a man named Lyons, who proceeded to cut the meadow on the land. Mrs. Slattery, the widow of the evicted tenant, arrived on the scene with a machine and commenced cutting what remained of the standing grass. The police were called upon, but Mrs. Slattery refused to quit the place.—*Irish Times*, August 9.

August 9—Co. Roscommon.—At the Roscommon Petty Sessions, James Beirne, of Ballinasloe, sought to recover possession of a house on the grass land at Tonlagree, at present occupied by a man named Keigher (see IRISH FACTS, July 3 and 14). Mr. Beirne, accompanied by his son, arrived under police protection, and after the case was gone into, a decree was granted. Mr. Beirne and his son left the court, and were guarded by the police until they left the town.—*Dublin Daily Express*, August 10.

August 10—Co. Meath.—At George's Cross Petty Sessions ten men were charged with unlawful assembly on June 1 at Wilkinstown, and with preventing certain cattle, the property of Mr. Wallis, from being driven on certain lands in Staholmoy. Evidence was given that a crowd of about 60 people, of whom prisoners were the alleged ringleaders, assembled at the railway station when the cattle arrived. During the detaining of the cattle an attempt was made by the crowd to drive the cattle in a wrong direction, but the police prevented it, and eventually got the beasts on to the right road, the crowd during the time booing and shouting, and some stones were thrown at the police.

The chairman said, in dismissing the cases, the Bench had no sympathy with cattle-driving. Continuing, he said, "Leave the Legislature to settle these matters, and take what you can get afterwards."—*Dublin Daily Express*, August 11.

August 10—Co. Longford.—In the Chancery Division, Dublin, before Mr. Justice Dodd, application was made on behalf of Thomas Bennett, of Lismoy, for an interlocutory order restraining 17 others, defendants, from trespassing upon plaintiff's bog. Counsel explained that on November 1 last, the plaintiff signed an agreement for the purchase of his two holdings under the provisions of the Land Act of 1903. At the date of signing the agreement the plaintiff was a member of the United Irish League. Before signing the agreement he was waited upon by a deputation from the Clonguish Branch of the League with reference to the bog, which they asked him to give up. He attended a meeting of the branch on November 1, and explained his position, but was condemned to be boycotted inasmuch as he had refused to comply with the demands of the League, and his subscription to the League was returned to him. On May 17 last, the local band, with a crowd of about 200 persons, invaded his bog at Lismoy. A week later he and his son were on the bog when a crowd assembled and assumed a threatening attitude towards him; they attacked his son, who has since been afraid to go on the bog. On June 1, a crowd of persons, of whom the defendants were the alleged ringleaders, assembled and cut turf in spite of plaintiff and a number of police. On the same night two of his gates were removed. Since the matter of the bog arose plaintiff had been strictly boycotted, and he was unable to let his meadows. Mr. Justice Dodd granted an order, and reserved the question of costs.—*Dublin Daily Express*, August 11.

August 10—Co. Kerry.—The two defendants in the Kerry shooting outrage (see August 5, above) were again brought up at Listowel, and after further evidence was taken, were remanded for trial, bail being refused.—*Irish Times*, August 11.

August 11—Co. Kilkenny.—A correspondent of the *Dublin Daily Express* reports that a serious explosion has occurred at a newly-erected house on the Scully Farm, near Tullaroan, which was recently distributed by the Estates Commissioners. Patrick Champion, the owner of the house, resides some miles away, at Ballylarkin, and has a holding of about 50 acres. Four rudely-constructed bombs were found in the house, and a greater portion of the building was destroyed by the explosion. A similarly constructed bomb has been found outside a house near Urlingford.

August 11—Co. Clare.—Mr. J. A. Studdart, a well-known land agent, of Cragmoher, was fired at as he was returning home from a farm at Clooney. He was cycling at the time, and four revolver shots were fired at him, but none struck him. There has been an agitation over the division of Clooney demesne among the people in the district, and recently there was an extensive malicious burning at Clooney house for which heavy compensation was awarded.—*Belfast News Letter*, August 14.

August 12—Co. Tipperary.—A correspondent of the *Irish Times* reports that a few nights ago the house of a labourer living near Knigh was broken into, and the occupant was threatened by a party of men that unless he left his employment he would "catch it."

August 12—Co. Roscommon.—A correspondent of the *Irish Times* reports that Martin Healy, a small farmer living at Clooneen, near Athleague, has informed the police that an ass, his property, was found the previous night with about 12 inches of its tail cut off.

August 13—Co. Tipperary.—Some scenes were witnessed at an eviction of three tenants at Templemore. Mr. Francis Jackson, the landlord, refused to grant a reduction of their rent. He obtained decrees against them some weeks ago, but owing to the state of public feeling in the locality, no bailiff could be found to execute the warrants at the time. Mr. Jackson instituted fresh proceedings, and this time was successful in getting his decrees and obtaining a bailiff to carry them out. Mr. Jackson with two bailiffs, accompanied by a force of 60 police, arrived in the district, when about 700 people collected and met Mr. Jackson and his party, shouting and booing at them, and it became necessary for the police to form a cordon across the street to enable the bailiffs to carry out their work.—*Freeman's Journal*, August 16.

August 14—Co. Clare.—A correspondent of the *Limerick Chronicle* reports that two shooting outrages occurred at Ballinonan. The house of a farmer named Thomas Kichan was fired into, the bed-room and kitchen windows being demolished, but the occupants, who were all in bed, escaped injury.

The house of a farmer named O'Neill was fired into, shots being discharged through the windows of the bed-room and kitchen, but no one was hit.

August 15—Co. Kildare.—A cattle-drive took place off the lands of Lord Cloncurry, at Cooltrim, held on the 11 months' system by a woman named Mrs. Maria Moran. The cattle were afterwards recovered by the police about three miles away.—*Leinster Leader*, August 21.

August 17—Co. Dublin.—A number of placards were found posted up in several parts of Dublin bearing in large letters the following inscription :—

“IRELAND HONOURS

“MADAR LAL DHINGRA,

“Who was proud to lay down his life for the cause of his country.” Similar posters were also found in the village of Toomebridge.—*Irish Times*, August 19.

August 19—Co. Roscommon.—Much excitement prevailed at Tonlagree, when the eviction of John Keigher was carried out (see above, August 9). The bailiffs were accompanied by a large force of police, and on their arrival they found a large crowd armed with sticks surrounding the dwelling. To take possession it was found necessary to burst in a door, when a quantity of lime-wash was thrown over the bailiffs and police, but the premises were eventually taken possession of.—*Irish Independent*, August 20.

August 19—Co. Tipperary.—The windows of a house occupied by Miss Hogan, Thurles, were smashed in with stones, the glass and frames of four windows being completely shattered. The house was occupied some time ago by a tenant named Dwyer, who was evicted by Miss Hogan's mother, and Mrs. Hogan and her family were rigorously boycotted. This is the second occasion that her windows have been smashed. At the last Quarter Sessions she was awarded £8 compensation.

On the morning of the 20th, Mrs. Hogan's meadow lands were spiked, rendering hay-cutting impossible, and a mowing machine was broken.—*Irish Independent*, August 21.

August 20—Co. Tipperary.—In consequence of an agitation on the part of some tenants on the estate of Mr. J. F. Lloyd, near Templemore, no rent has been paid for some time past, and Mr. Lloyd has been obliged to enforce decrees for rent and seize the stock. A horse which was seized was put up for auction, when some disorderly scenes were witnessed. The object of the agitation is to force Mr. Lloyd to sell his land to the Estates Commissioners.—*Dublin Daily Express*, August 21.

August 21—Co. Kerry.—A correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal* reports that ten head of cattle, the property of a man named Shine, which were grazing on the demesne land of Ardtully, were driven away and their tails cut off. Recently a tenant of Mr. Hugh Orpen, the owner of Ardtully, was evicted for non-payment of rent, and since then an emergency man, accompanied by two policemen, are occupying the dwelling-house on the farm.—*Freeman's Journal*, August 21.

August 24—Co. Waterford.—At a special court, held at Waterford, a farmer's son, named Shean, was charged with having, on August 15, maliciously set fire to a farmhouse belonging to Michael Hanway, of Ballykinsella. The dwelling-house and a cow shed attached were completely destroyed. The accused was returned for trial at the next Quarter Sessions.—*Dublin Daily Express*, August 25.

August 25—King's Co.—About 20 head of cattle, the property of Mr. B. Williams, of Cloughjordan, were driven off the lands of Buckanagh, on the Bailey estate. They were found by the police next day.—*Nenagh News*, August 28.

August 26—Co. Tipperary.—Decrees having been granted to owners of houses near Thurles against their tenants, they have applied to the Court to issue warrants to their representatives. One of the landlords has been roughly handled and beaten in a shop in the main street. His residence was also attacked, stones and other missiles being thrown at the windows and doors, the inmates narrowly escaping injury, and had to flee to the outhouses for protection. Mr. H. H. Morgan, in describing the situation to the magistrates, said the tenants had got an idea into their heads, like the people in Templemore, that they need pay no rent.—*Dublin Daily Express*, August 28.

August 28—Co. Roscommon.—A correspondent of the *Roscommon Messenger* reports that a man named John Travers has been arrested and charged at Ratallen, near Boyle, with shooting at Thomas Sweeney whilst the latter was engaged in bringing hay from the farm of his employer, Mr. Dommick Morris. Travers has been remanded to bail.

September 3—Co. Clare.—A correspondent of the *Irish Times* reports that a few days ago in the Sixmile Bridge district a self-binding machine, the property of a local farmer named R. Russell, was badly damaged by the explosion of a bomb.

September 4—Queen's Co.—At Ballylenon Petty Sessions Owen Brennan was charged with having been guilty of conduct calculated to provoke a breach of the peace, namely, "blowing horns or other noisy instruments to the annoyance of John Knowles." John Knowles stated that he was a farmer, and was unpopular with his neighbours, and suffered considerable annoyance owing to the constant horn-blowing on August 9th, last. He was under constant police protection, and two constables lived

in his house with him. The case was adjourned for three months.—*Dublin Daily Express*, September 14.

September 5—Co. Kerry.—Three men, named Thomas Lammett, James Healy, and Timothy Sugrue, were arrested, brought before a magistrate at Killarney, and charged with having assaulted Constables Wynne and Healy. Constable Wynne said that he and Constable Healy left barracks about 12 midnight the previous night and heard shouting in the main street. Healy was behaving in a disorderly manner, and he (witness) placed him under arrest. When taking him into custody Sugrue and Lammett forcibly released the prisoner, and Sugrue struck him (the witness) twice with his fist in the face; Lammett also struck him. Constable Healy, who went for assistance to the barracks, was also assaulted. Meanwhile he (the witness) had to seek protection in the Parochial School. When assistance came the police were met by a volley of stones, but they eventually arrested the prisoners. During the struggle several revolver shots were fired from the crowd. The prisoners were remanded.—*Dublin Daily Express*, September 7.

September 10—Co. Galway.—A quantity of straw, the property of a Mr. Michael O'Donohoe, J.P., Kinvara, was set on fire and burned—it is locally believed maliciously; while on the evening following a large stone was fired into the dwelling-house of a man named Fahy, hitting his wife on the head.—*Connacht Champion*, September 18.

September 11—Co. Galway.—A valuable stack of oats on the Potts estate, the property of a farmer named Burns, was destroyed by fire. There has been considerable unrest on this estate, some of the tenants have, it is said, refused to pay rent until all the grass lands have been divided.—*Irish Times*, September 14.

September 13—Co. Roscommon.—A small farmer, named Mulvehill, living at Kilmaryal, reported that a donkey, his property, had a portion of the tail cut off the night before while in its stable.—*Roscommon Herald*, September 18.

September 20—Co. Tipperary.—A correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal* reports that during the past two days two cases of hay-burning have occurred in Templemore. A large quantity of hay has been almost wholly destroyed by fire on Mr. James Hartigan, publican, Barrack Street, whose horses and pigs narrowly escaped destruction. A large quantity of hay was totally destroyed on Mr. Daniel Meagher, merchant, George Street.

DISCUSSION DISALLOWED.

Irish Land Bill Forced Through.

The Mechanical Majority at Work.

By J. B. Lonsdale, M.P.

"Some parts of this measure have not received proper or, indeed, any Parliamentary discussion."—Mr. Birrell, House of Commons, September 17.

THE Irish Land Bill, as introduced, comprised 65 clauses and two schedules. During its passage through the House of Commons the Government added a number of new clauses, so that it contains 72 separate and distinct propositions. It extends to 37 pages, and makes 1,452 lines of print.

The Bill contains proposals of the utmost importance concerning Imperial finance, the interests of Irish farmers, the rights of property owners, and the social well-being of Ireland. In some important respects it reverses the policy of the Land Act of 1903; and by raising the tenants' purchase annuity, substituting payment in stock for payment in cash, reducing the bonus, and setting up a system of compulsory purchase, it prevents the possibility of a continuance of land purchase on voluntary lines.

The Bill destroys the existing Congested Districts Board, and while doubling the area of the congested districts, so that it comprises one-third of Ireland, it establishes a new body, on representative lines, which has to administer an income of £250,000 a year. Further, it contains proposals which prepare the way for the compulsory acquisition of the untenanted grazing lands of Ireland and their distribution among a new class of "landless" men, who have been qualifying for State assistance by participating in the cruel and lawless pastime of cattle-driving.

A Bill of such magnitude and containing proposals of such far-reaching importance, demanded the most careful consideration from the House of Commons.

The Bill was presented formally, and no discussion took place upon the first reading. Two half days only were allotted to the debate on the second reading.

Eight Parliamentary days were given to the consideration of the Bill in Committee—under a guillotine resolution of unexampled stringency. The time allowed for the discussion of the principles of the measure was ridiculously short; and, under the conditions imposed, any detailed examination of the clauses in Committee was absolutely impossible. The discussions in Committee had to be compressed within 45 hours, and the impossible task was assigned to the House of examining the Bill at the rate of one clause in every 40 minutes, or two minutes for each line of the measure. As a matter of fact only 10 clauses were discussed at all. Sixty clauses and schedules were passed practically without a word of debate.

Four of the eight days allotted for the Committee stage were Fridays, when the House meets at noon, and on each of these occasions discussion ceased compulsorily at 5 o'clock. On the first allotted day—after a general discussion upon the question of increasing the tenant's annuity from $3\frac{1}{4}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which the whole of the Irish representatives unitedly condemned—at 5 o'clock exactly one-and-a-half lines of the first clause had been passed, and the remainder of the section was forced through under the closure.

On the second day, the clause empowering the Treasury to issue a new 3 per cent. Irish Land Stock was carried, after discussion; but Clause 3, which authorises the substitution of payment of landlords by stock instead of cash, and Clause 4, which empowers the Treasury to raise money by means of temporary loans, were closed without debate.

On the third day, the question of the bonus was debated, and at 5 o'clock, when the guillotine put a stop to further discussion, the definite article, "The"—which was the first word of Clause 5—was all that had been added to the Bill. Nine clauses were then passed under the closure.

The fourth day began with a debate on the 14th Clause, which interferes with the zone provisions of the Act of 1903, and when the debate was interrupted at 7.30, the word "Where"—the initial word of the clause—was all that had been passed. Three most important clauses were then added, by guillotine, namely:—(14) Exclusion from provisions as to zones; (15) Limitation on amount of advances to tenant purchasers; and (16) Prohibition of advance. At 10.30 on the same evening, after a short debate on Clause 17, which permits the Estates Commissioners to buy land for and give farms to the landless men, the guillotine fell on this clause, and no fewer than 16 others. That is to say, 20 clauses were added to the Bill on that one day.

On the fifth day six clauses had to be disposed of—including Clause 39, which introduces the principle of compulsory purchase. This clause, the most important in the Bill, had been deliberately placed last of the sections in the day's programme, and the consequence was it was not discussed at all. An interesting and useful debate took place on Clause 34, which places restrictions on the acquisition of holdings and the removal of trees, which had two remarkable results. The first was the hopeless entanglement of the Attorney-General for Ireland in the intricacies of the Bill, of which he is one of the authors. The other noteworthy fact was the evident dependence of the Chief Secretary upon the Nationalist leaders. Twice, when questions arose as to granting concessions, the Chief Secretary showed without any disguise that he awaited permission before giving way. Once Mr. John Redmond came to his assistance, and gave him a lead which he was quick to follow; and once Mr. John Dillon gave Mr. Birrell permission to consent to a certain alteration. It became apparent to the most casual observer that whilst in its financial provisions it is a Treasury Relief Bill, in all other respects it is a Nationalist measure, pure and simple.

The whole of the Congested Districts part of the Bill, comprising 18 clauses, was put through under the guillotine on the sixth day. The discussion of this vast and intricate problem and the novel and dangerous methods by which the Government propose to deal with it, had to be compressed into a period of five-and-a-half hours, and

thereafter members spent no less than three-and-a-half hours in steadily marching from the Chamber through the division lobbies and back again, in a weary round of ineffectual protest against clauses which they were not allowed adequately to discuss.

On the seventh day the subject appointed for discussion was the section of the Bill headed "Compulsory Purchase." The Committee were not allowed to debate the principle of compulsion. The Chairman held that the time for dealing with that matter was on Clauses 39 or 57, and both those sections had been passed under the guillotine. The consequence was that, in spite of the definite assurance given by Mr. Birrell in the debate on the Guillotine Resolution that "there will be two opportunities in Committee of discussing the principle of compulsion," no such opportunity was given to members. What was, in the circumstances, a profitless discussion was terminated by the application of the closure at 10.30, and three clauses were added to the Bill by that means.

There remained for the eighth day five clauses and two schedules, and a notice paper crowded with new clauses. The question of giving to future tenants the right to have a fair rent fixed occupied most of the time available for discussion, and the closure came into play at 5 o'clock upon the two new clauses proposed by the Government, and the revised scale of bonus which the Government have substituted for that originally in the Bill.

The Report Stage was a sham. Two days were allotted to this stage by the guillotine resolution. The Government, however, took one away for a discussion, in Committee, of a number of amendments which they had put down at the last moment. One day only was left, therefore, for the consideration of the Bill on report, and as that was occupied almost entirely with the discussion of new clauses, proposed by the Government, there was really no consideration of the Bill itself. Fifteen new clauses, proposed by private members, and 29 pages of amendments to the clauses of the Bill were swept away by the guillotine.

From 12 till 5 o'clock on Friday was all the time allowed by the Government for the third reading debate, and it was noteworthy for an admission by the Chief Secretary that "some parts of the Bill had not received proper, or, indeed, any Parliamentary discussion."

There were 63 divisions during the Committee stage, and about ten hours were consumed in voting down the opposition of the Unionist members to a Bill which they are thoroughly convinced will, if passed into law, prove disastrous to the best interests of Ireland.

J. B. LONSDALE.

PURSuing THE TRUTH.

Pointed Questions in Parliament to Irish Ministers.

[The following is a selection from recent questions addressed to Ministers in the House of Commons on Irish affairs.]

Nationalist Rowdiness causes Trouble.

Mr. MOORE asked whether on Sunday, July 18, several trains conveying Nationalist excursion parties passed through Portadown, and that bottles and stones were thrown by the excursionists at the police and civilians at or near the railway station and several revolver shots were fired into dwelling houses near the railway line; whether similar attacks have been made on several previous occasions; and what steps will be taken to protect persons residing near the railway from these attacks?

Mr. BIRRELL: I am informed by the Constabulary authorities that the facts are substantially as stated. The police are fully alive to the danger of disturbance on such occasions, and a considerable extra force was on duty in Portadown on the date in question.—*Parl. Deb.*, July 26.

Mr. DEVLIN asked the Chief Secretary whether the Under Secretary did not promise that ample police arrangements would be made for the preservation of the public peace in Portadown, and proceeded in a long question to make various false charges against an Orange procession there on July 11.

Mr. CHERRY: The reply to the first paragraph is in the affirmative. I am informed by the police authorities that on July 11 a procession of Orangemen wearing regalia marched through Obin Street, a Catholic quarter of Portadown, to Drumree Parish Church, following the practice of over 50 years; that on July 13 Orange bands and drumming parties coming into Portadown from the northern portion of the county proceeded through, among other streets, Obin Street, which is the direct route, and the one which has always been followed. It appears that one band played a party tune, but the police did not hear anyone curse the Pope. On the return journey stones were thrown at the processionists, and a slight scuffle took place, which was at once suppressed by the police. In the evening one shot was fired on the outskirts of the town by the occupants of an isolated car. No one was injured, and, owing to the darkness, no person could be identified. No prosecutions have been commenced. The Orange arch referred to consisted of a rope spanning the street, to which was attached a miniature Union Jack and some bunting. It had no party emblems attached to it, and was further from the Roman Catholic Church than in former years. It was put up at the end of the street occupied (with, it is believed, one exception) by Protestants. The police also inform me that it is not a fact that drumming parties paraded up and down William Street, and acted offensively opposite the church.—*Parl. Deb.*, August 2.

Riots in Portadown.

Mr. JEREMIAH MACVEAGH: I desire to ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture, in the absence of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, a question of which I have given private notice—whether he has any information which he can give the House with reference to the Orange attack upon the police in Portadown on Saturday and Sunday, and whether he can say how many police and how many civilians were injured, and how much property was damaged by the loyalist riot?

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: Two police telegrams which came from Portadown, and one from Lurgan, constitute all the information possessed by the Government regarding this lamentable occurrence. An excursion of the Irish Nationalist Foresters from Portadown to Newry was announced to take place on Sunday last, August 15. Owing to recent party disturbances in Portadown, and to the fact that party feeling is regrettably high in the town at present, it was deemed necessary to assemble an extra force of 500 police under Assistant-Inspector General Ball for the preservation of the peace and the protection of the excursionists. On the Saturday evening preceding the day of the excursion Mr. Wright, a leading Orangeman, was struck on the head and cut by a bottle thrown from a house. Mr. Wright was at the time remonstrating with some of his own party in the interests of peace. The assault upon Mr. Wright appears to have accentuated the ill-feeling against the excursion party.

On Sunday morning the excursionists proceeded in a body from their place of meeting to the Portadown Railway Station to take train for Newry. The party was surrounded by police and amply protected. They had no band or banner and wore no regalia, but some members of the party cheered in triumph at being protected by the police. On the way to the railway station stones were thrown by crowds of the opposite party at the excursion party and the police at two places. The stone-throwing was very serious and determined at one place. One constable received serious injury to the eye from a stone, and, it is feared, will lose his sight. He has been removed to a Dublin hospital. The county inspector, two district inspectors, and about five men of other rank were struck and injured by stones, but not seriously. None of the excursion party was injured so far as is known to the police authorities. The police promptly dispersed the crowds by baton charges. After the excursionists had left by train a crowd attacked the house from which the bottle had been thrown the previous night, and smashed the windows. The police also dispersed this crowd by a baton charge and cleared the street.

Upon the return of the excursion in the evening, the excursionists were escorted to their homes by the police, and no further rioting occurred. One hundred of the police were detailed for the purpose of protecting the line while excursion trains were passing through Portadown. A mob beat off three policemen at one point and wrecked the windows of an excursion train from Londonderry. Two shots were fired from this train at a row of houses occupied by Orangemen (whether before or after the train was wrecked is not stated).

A telegram received from Portadown last evening (Monday) stated that matters then were quiet.

Captain CRAIG: Have the persons who threw the bottle at Mr. Wright out of the house, or any of those who fired shots out of the train containing the Nationalist party been arrested?

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: These two telegrams constitute the entire information in the hands of the Government. I would ask the hon. and gallant Gentleman to postpone his question.—*Parl. Deb.*, August 17.

Portadown and Lurgan Disturbances.

Mr. JEREMIAH MACVEAGH asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether there has been any renewal of disturbances in Portadown or Lurgan since Monday night; whether he can state the number of police constables struck by stones or otherwise injured during the entire disturbances; how many arrests were made and how many further arrests are contemplated; and in how many buildings were windows broken or other damage inflicted. Also, whether he has now satisfied himself that there is no foundation for the allegation that a bottle was thrown from the hotel in Portadown?

Mr. BIRRELL: The police authorities at Portadown and Lurgan have up to the present been very fully occupied in endeavouring to maintain the peace, and I have, therefore, not yet been able to obtain the details necessary to answer the question fully. I have received a telegram this morning to the effect that both towns are now quiet, but the state of feeling remains such as to require the retention of the extra police force for the present. Two men were arrested at Lurgan on Monday night on a charge of riot, and have been returned for trial. A considerable number of persons have been identified as taking part in the riots at Portadown, and these will be arrested and prosecuted. I have already stated that a constable at Portadown received serious injury to the eye. The district inspector at that place is confined to bed with an injury to the head caused by a stone. At Lurgan a sergeant suffered fracture of the ankle, and a constable had his jaw broken. At both places a considerable number of policemen received lesser injuries. I have not yet received a detailed report upon the allegation contained in the newspapers that a bottle was thrown from the hotel in Portadown. I may say, however, that in the reports which I have received the police have made no statement that they saw a bottle thrown from the hotel.

Mr. LONSDALE: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the disturbance on the evening of Monday arose out of the stoning by a Nationalist mob of a Protestant band which had been to the railway station to give a send-off to two of its members who were going to America, and whether it is the fact that a Nationalist procession passed through Lurgan on Monday, the 16th inst., without interference of any kind whatever?—*Parl. Deb.*, August 19.

Rioting at Lurgan.

Mr. HAZLETON asked whether the right hon. Gentleman is aware that, in connection with the recent grave rioting at Lurgan, the urban district councillors and other prominent citizens undertook to act as special constables and to use their influence on the side of peace; can he state if their services were availed of, and with what result; and whether representatives of both parties joined in this effort to secure peace and order?

Mr. W. MOORE: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers that question, may I ask whether it is not the fact that when the chairman of the urban district council carried out the policy in the question he

was at once felled to the ground by a bottle thrown from a Nationalist public-house in Portadown?

Mr. BIRRELL: I have no knowledge as to whether that is a fact or not.

Mr. T. L. CORBETT: That is a quibble.

Mr. BIRRELL: I really do not know whether he was felled to the earth or not. If it was so, I deeply regret the occurrence. In answer to the question I am informed by the constabulary authorities that it was suggested at a meeting of the Lurgan Urban District Council on the 17th instant that members of the Council should go out that night and advise the people to be peaceable. The county inspector agreed that this would be very useful. I understand that representatives of both parties joined in this effort to secure peace, and I have no doubt that their action had a beneficial effect. There was no renewal of the disturbance.

Mr. MOORE: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he will consider that it would tend more to achieve the object of the question if he would alter the present policy of giving police protection to every act of aggression and provocation on the part of Nationalists?—*Parl. Deb.*, August 24.

Disorderly Doolin.

Mr. W. J. MACGEAGH MACCAW (on behalf of Mr. Lonsdale) asked the Chief Secretary whether the house of John Williams, of Doolin, County Clare, was fired into on the night of Sunday, July 11; that John Williams is rent-warner and steward to Mr. H. V. Macnamara, on whose estate at Doolin there have been extensive cattle-drives; and that an United Irish League organiser held a meeting at Doolin and another at Lisdoonvarna on Sunday, July 4; and what steps are being taken to protect Mr. H. V. Macnamara's employés from intimidation and outrage?

Mr. BIRRELL: The statements in the first part of the question are correct. All the men in Mr. Macnamara's employment are afforded protection, a number of police being employed exclusively on this duty.—*Parl. Deb.*, July 28.

Galway's Recreations.

Mr. MACCAW asked the Chief Secretary whether three cases of firing into dwellings have occurred recently in county Galway, and that a heifer belonging to Mr. Conroy had been maliciously destroyed on the Tyrone estate, near Headford; and whether, as the result of police investigations into these cases, any arrests have taken place?

Mr. BIRRELL: There have recently been two cases of firing into dwellings in county Galway, and a third case where shots were fired outside a house. A heifer was also killed, as stated in the question. So far the police have not succeeded in tracing the persons who committed these offences.—*Parl. Deb.*, July 28.

To Church under Protection.

Mr. EDWARD BARRY asked the Chief Secretary whether he is aware that since a recent eviction in Skibbereen two policemen have been accompanying emergency men employed on the evicted farm to church; whether any threats have been used against the evicting landlord; whether Miss

M'Carthy is popular in the town ; and, if so, will the township be relieved of the taxation involved in the continuance of the police for this duty ?

Mr. BIRRELL : I am informed by the Constabulary authorities that the men referred to are constantly protected by two police, and that such protection is necessary. The police belong to the county force, and no charge will fall on the local rates for their services. I understand that Miss MacCarthy is personally popular, save with a few persons who sympathise with the evicted tenant.—*Parl. Deb.*, August 3.

A Meath Cattle Drive.

Captain CRAIG asked the Chief Secretary whether he is aware that, on the night of the 21st ultimo or the morning of the 22nd, 100 head of cattle, the property of Mr. Mackey, Clonsilla, were driven off the lands of Newtownmoynagh, Athboy, county Meath, and were subsequently found, some up the Hill of Ward Road, and others near Athboy ; whether he is aware that, on the occasion in question, a gate leading to those lands was lifted off its hinges and carried away, and that, at the last April quarter sessions in Trim, Judge Curran awarded Mr. Mackey £16 for the driving of 32 head of cattle off the same lands ; and can he state what steps have been taken to prevent further outrages of a like nature on the property of Mr. Mackey ?

Mr. BIRRELL : On the morning of July 22, 106 cattle, the property of Mr. William Mackey, were driven off the lands in question, and were found wandering along the roads near the farm. Three gates had been lifted off their hinges and left by the gateways. Compensation to the amount of £16 was awarded at Trim Quarter Sessions in respect of a cattle-drive off the same lands in January last. The police force at Athboy has since been strengthened by the addition of three men, and every effort is being made to prevent a repetition of the offence.—*Parl. Deb.*, August 5.

Mutilation !

Captain CRAIG asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether he is aware that on a farm at Ballygoughlin, near Glin, county Limerick, a cow was found a few days ago with two legs missing, which had evidently been hacked off with some sharp instrument ; and, if so, whether any arrest has been made by the police in connection with this outrage ?

Mr. BIRRELL : I am informed by the constabulary authorities that on July 25 a cow was found on the farm in question with its forelegs houghed. The police are investigating the case, but no arrests have yet been made.—*Parl. Deb.*, August 6.

A Publican's Post Office.

Mr. HUGH BARRIE asked the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that the person who has been appointed to the sub-postmastership of Ballintoy is the owner of a public-house, and that he proposes to conduct postal business on the licensed premises ; whether it is contrary to the rules of the Post Office for officers of the Department to be connected directly or indirectly with the ownership or management of an inn or public-house ; and will the newly appointed sub-postmaster be allowed to carry on the post office in licensed premises ?

Mr. BUXTON : It is the general rule that officers of the Post Office

should not be connected with the ownership or management of an inn or public-house. But it is occasionally necessary to make an exception to this rule in the case of a sub-postmaster. The recently appointed sub-postmaster of Ballintoy, who is the proprietor of a good-class hotel, was selected because in all the circumstances of the case he was considered the most desirable of the three candidates for the position. Care has been taken that persons approaching the post office shall not pass through, or near, the premises where drink is sold.

Mr. BARRIE: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman what were the circumstances to which he referred in his answer?

Mr. BUXTON: Unfortunately in this particular case a good deal of local feeling prevailed in favour of the different candidates, and it appeared to me, looking at the amount of local feeling, that to appoint either would not have been conducive to the public advantage or to the Post Office. In these circumstances, and there being only one other candidate, I felt bound to appoint him.

Mr. WILLIAM MOORE: Has the right hon. Gentleman seen a report of a public meeting at which this transaction was condemned?

Mr. BUXTON: Oh, yes, I saw the report.

Mr. MOORE: As that opinion is general in the North of Ireland to those in possession of the facts, will the right hon. Gentleman grant a full inquiry by an impartial Commission into the circumstances which led to the present appointment?

Mr. BUXTON: I do not see why people should be so solicitous for public inquiry into the appointment of a sub-postmaster. I went into the whole case, and as there was so much local feeling on both sides I concluded it would not be in the interests of the public service of the Post Office to appoint either of the candidates. I regret this feeling should have been aroused, and I regret to have had to appoint the third candidate with the disqualification of licensed premises. But the whole case of this sub-postmaster is a tempest in a teapot.

Mr. BARRIE: Is it not the case that the right hon. Gentleman originally appointed a candidate not mentioned to-day, and found later that the person was not qualified, and that he has now made a second appointment, passing over the only person who had 18 years' previous experience?

Mr. BUXTON: The first suggestion was that another postmistress should be appointed. She was not really appointed. Then this local friction arose.

Mr. LEIF JONES: Is there a separate entrance to the post office, so that people need not pass through the public-house?

Mr. BUXTON: I must have notice of that question.—*Parl. Deb.*, August 10.

* * The matter was discussed on August 13, on the Third Reading of the Appropriation Bill.

The Pig-Sty Post Office.

Captain CRAIG asked the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that the Collinstown Post Office is being fixed, after all, in the pig-sty outside the town; and whether he intends to take action in the matter?

The POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON): The post office will not be placed in that portion of the premises which the hon. Member describes as the pig-sty.

Captain CRAIG: Is it not the fact that a much better site was offered in the village—one which won the Leinster Cup for the best cottage in the district—whereas this pig-sty is a long distance from the village. Why was the site refused, and people thereby compelled to travel a quarter of a mile beyond the village on bad road?

Mr. BUXTON: There was a great deal of difficulty about the site, but we have done our best. The post office has nothing to do with the pig-sty.

Captain CRAIG: Were not two cottages offered at a rent of £5 10s. a year? Surely the post office could afford that.

Mr. LEIF JONES: Cannot the Department find some buildings in Ireland other than public-houses and pig-sties in which to place post offices?—*Parl. Deb.*, August 12.

Captain CRAIG asked the Postmaster-General whether his further inquiries have satisfied him that the pig-sty at Collinstown is the only available accommodation for His Majesty's post office; whether the increased rent of £8 per annum for two prize cottages conveniently situated in the village was asked by the landlord for the first two years only, in order to cover the extra outlay necessitated by the alterations required by the authorities, amounting to £12, after which the rent was to be £5 10s. per annum; whether, in the interest of everyone concerned, he will reconsider his decision; and whether he can state if the pig-sty has a chimney?

The POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON): I am satisfied that the newly-appointed sub-postmistress of Collinstown did her best to provide suitable premises for the post office. So far as the temporary office is inconvenient, it is due, as I explained the other day, to the action of the landlord of the district. As regards details, I have nothing to add to what I stated in the House the other day. I do not admit the accuracy of the description either of the present premises or of the cottages belonging to Colonel Smythe.—*Parl. Deb.*, August 31.

Clare's Methods.

Mr. LONSDALE asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether he is aware that on Sunday night, August 1, John M'Key and a boy named Daniel M'Custy, of Kilcarrish, county Clare, were fired at upon the high road by men concealed in a shrubbery, and badly wounded; whether he is aware that M'Key is unpopular because he will not give up land which his neighbours want to purchase through the Estates Commissioners; and whether any arrests have been made in connection with this outrage?

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: I am informed by the constabulary authorities that the facts are substantially as stated, save that M'Key does not hold any land. The police have not as yet been able to make any arrests.—*Parl. Deb.*, August 16.

Mr. LONSDALE (for Captain CRAIG) asked the Chief Secretary whether he is aware that Mr. John A. Studdert, a Clare land agent, was shot at a few days ago from the roadside as he was cycling back from Cloony to his residence at Cragmoher; whether the police have succeeded in making any arrest in connection with this outrage; whether he is aware that two other shooting outrages have occurred in the same county, one at Ballinruan, about ten miles north of Ennis, and another at the house of a farmer named O'Neill, midway between Ennis and Inagh; and, if so, what steps does he propose to take?

Mr. CHERRY: I am informed by the constabulary authorities that Mr. Studdert was fired at as stated on August 9. In the other two cases referred to in the question shots were fired into houses by night on August 7 and July 18 respectively. No arrests have been made. The police are doing all they can to prevent such occurrences, and to detect the guilty persons, but it is obviously difficult to do so in the case of offences committed under cover of darkness.—*Parl. Deb.*, Sept. 2.

Galway's Imitation.

Captain CRAIG asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether he is aware that on the night of August 4 a small farmer, named Patrick Conlan, was fired at and wounded, at a place called Clarenbridge, whilst driving home in a horse and cart from the Galway races; whether he is aware that this man's horse was also injured on the occasion; and, seeing that the motive assigned for the outrage is that Conlan has taken up work on an evicted farm in the neighbourhood, will he state what steps the police authorities have taken to prevent a recurrence of the outrage?

Mr. CHERRY: I am informed by the constabulary authorities that Conlan was fired at and wounded as stated in the question, and that his horse was also injured. The police have made arrangements which will, it is hoped, prevent any further interference with him.—*Parl. Deb.*, Sept. 1.

Cost of Birrellism.

Captain CRAIG asked the Chief Secretary whether he is aware that, owing to the system of cattle-driving throughout certain parts of Ireland, the local rates have in many instances been very materially increased this year; and whether he can see fit to grant relief to those persons who are mulcted in extra rates in connection with extra police where cattle have been driven off their land?

Mr. CHERRY: Local rates have doubtless been increased in certain counties in Ireland where it was found necessary to bring in extra police owing to the prevalence of cattle-driving, but I am not aware of any power to exempt any class of persons from payment of these increased rates. I can see no reason, moreover, why, if extra police are required for the protection of the property of any ratepayer, he should be relieved from paying his proportion of the expense of the extra protection required.—*Parl. Deb.*, Sept. 1.

A Clare Cattle Drive.

Captain CRAIG asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether he is aware that the cattle belonging to a man named Hunt, near Corrofin, County Clare, have on several occasions been driven from his farm; whether Hunt has been subjected to continual intimidation for some time past; can he state if the police can assign any reason for the intimidation; and whether they have taken steps to protect him from further outrage?

Mr. CHERRY: I am informed by the constabulary authorities that Hunt's cattle were driven twice last year, and that persons helping him have been threatened. The police are doing all that is possible to protect him and his property.—*Parl. Deb.*, Sept. 1.

The Fruit of Disorder.

Mr. HUGH BARRIE asked the Vice-President of the Department

of Agriculture (Ireland) what sum has been expended at Athenry, county Galway, in connection with the proposal to establish an agricultural college there; and what are the local difficulties which have caused the project to be abandoned?

The VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. T. W. RUSSELL): The expenditure in connection with the proposed agricultural college at Athenry was in respect of the preparation of the plans. A sum of £370 10s. 3d. was so expended. The difficulties had reference to agrarian and labour troubles.—*Parl. Deb.*, August 4.

Ireland's Cost.

Mr. HAZLETON asked the Secretary to the Treasury what has been the average annual contribution of Ireland to Imperial Services since the Union; what was the amount for last year; what was the highest amount in any one year, and the lowest amount in any one year previous to 1908-9; whether it is estimated that there will be no contribution from Ireland to Imperial Services for the current year; and, if so, what is the estimated amount of the deficit?

The JUNIOR LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. J. H. WHITLEY): The average annual contribution of Ireland to Imperial Services since 1819—the earliest date to which figures are available—has been, approximately, £3,500,000. I cannot give a precise figure, since for the period from 1819 to 1890 the calculations have only been worked out for one year in each decennial period. The amount for 1908-9 was £583,000. The highest amount in any previous year for which the figures have been worked out was £5,396,000—in 1859-60; the lowest £1,684,000—in 1899-1900. For the current year it is estimated that the revenue contributed by Ireland will be insufficient to meet the cost of purely Irish services by £1,183,000.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: Translated into plain English that reply means that now Ireland is being run under the Union at a loss of over a million a year to England?

Mr. WHITLEY: That would appear to be the inference.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Are you sure that when a Tory Government come into office they will not tell a wholly different story?

Mr. WHITLEY: I think the hon. and learned Member will understand that the Old Age Pensions will perhaps have altered the circumstances.—*Parl. Deb.*, Aug. 24.

Sub Judice.

Captain CRAIG asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he was aware that on the night of 1st September a water bailiff, named John Driscoll, was waylaid on the public road as he was returning home from Cahirciveen fair with his wife and son, and so brutally knocked down and kicked by three or four people that he died that night; whether three young men have been arrested in connection with this occurrence; and could he say what reason was assigned for the attack?

Mr. CHERRY: Four men have been arrested in connection with this occurrence, and the case is now *sub judice*. It is not, therefore, desirable to make any statement on the subject.—*Parl. Deb.*, Sept. 13.

Bomb Explosion.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG (for Captain Craig) asked whether an outrage was committed recently in the Sixmilebridge district, county Clare, when a self-binder machine, the property of Mr. Robert Russell, a respectable farmer, which he had lent to a neighbour, was blown up by a bomb consisting of an axle-box filled with blasting-powder and exploded with a fuse; whether the police can supply any information as to the reasons which prompted the outrage; whether any arrests have been made; and whether a claim for compensation has been lodged?

Mr. BIRRELL: I am informed by the constabulary authorities that a reaping and binding machine belonging to Mr. Robert Russell was blown up as stated in the question. No motive has been suggested—that is altogether a matter of opinion. The police have not as yet been able to make any arrests. Mr. Russell has lodged a claim for £20 compensation.—*Parl. Deb.*, Sept. 14.

IRISH DIARY.

August 16.—Mr. J. Devlin, M.P., at Donegal.

August 23.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Irish Land Bill. Committee : Fourth allotted day.

August 24.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Irish Land Bill. Committee : Fifth allotted day.

August 25.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Irish Land Bill. Committee : Sixth allotted day.

August 26.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Irish Land Bill. Committee : Seventh allotted day.

August 27.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Irish Land Bill. Committee : Eighth allotted day.

September 5.—Arrival of O'Meagher Condon and John Callaghan, Irish-American envoys, at Queenstown. Reception at Headquarters of the United Irish League, Dublin. Speech by Mr. W. Redmond, M.P.

September 8.—Mr. J. Redmond and the Irish-American envoys at Wexford.

September 8.—Mr. J. Redmond and the envoys at Waterford.

September 13.—The envoys at Limerick.

September 14.—The envoys at Belfast.

September 15.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Irish Land Bill re-committed.

September 16.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Irish Land Bill. Report Stage : Concluded.

September 16.—Nationalist demonstration at Belfast. Speeches by Messrs. J. Devlin, M.P., O'Meagher Condon, and J. Callaghan.

September 17.—HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Irish Land Bill. Third Reading. Rejection moved by Sir Edward Carson. Speeches by Mr. Birrell, Mr. Butcher, Mr. Cherry, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Dillon.

September 22.—The envoys entertained at the Holborn Restaurant, London.

September 28.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Irish Land Bill. Second Reading. Speeches by Lord Crewe, Lord Dunraven, and Lord Lansdowne.

September 29.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Irish Land Bill. Second Reading. Speeches by Lord Curzon, Lord Macdonnell, Lord Londonderry, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Crewe.

IRISH FACTS.

NOVEMBER, 1909.

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IRISH FACTS.

Vol. 3.—No. 10.]

NOVEMBER, 1909.

CURRENT NOTES.

More Money Wanted.

Mr. John Redmond, M.P., has sent the following manifesto, which appeared in the Press on October 8, to Mr. M. J. Ryan, of Philadelphia, President of the United Irish League of America :—

“A great crisis in the Irish struggle has arisen. The House of Lords is engaged at this moment in destroying the Irish Land Bill, with its promise of closing the land war of centuries, completing the restoration of all the land of Ireland to her people, and of banishing for ever misery and famine from the West of Ireland.

“A General Election is certain within the next few weeks. In that election the veto of the House of Lords will be at stake, and with the veto of the House of Lords will disappear the last obstacle to Home Rule.

“In this fight Ireland will have arrayed against her all the forces of landlordism, wealth, and privilege. Once more we appeal to our race to help us to fight against these powerful enemies of our race.

“At our request Mr. T. P. O'Connor has consented to go to America to lay the situation before our people, and to ask their prompt and generous aid.”

It would be untrue to say that this appeal for more money is a surprise. The depleted state of the Home Rulers' Exchequer was well known. The action of the House of Lords in amending a measure admitted by Mr. Redmond himself not to have received proper discussion in the House of Commons hardly appears to be sufficient to warrant a manifesto of such importance. The excuse is somewhat transparent.

Mr. Redmond can hardly have written with thought for the meaning his words convey when he describes the House of Lords as “the last obstacle to Home Rule.” No argument for the preservation of the House of Lords would be more calculated to move the electors than this. It is not true, since Mr. Redmond has not yet succeeded in converting the electors of this country to his views. And as long as the House of Lords exists it does prevent a Liberal Government granting Home Rule as a reward for votes and support, when the question was not before the people at the General Election. Mr. Redmond has done himself and his Liberal allies, who would emasculate the Second Chamber, a bad turn by bringing before the electors a valuable illustration of the necessity of the House of Lords.

A "Hard-up" Party.

Mr. Redmond's appeal to America for financial assistance emphasises the fact that the coffers of the League are becoming empty. Readers will peruse the following complaints with some amusement, and they will doubtless ask how it is that Mr. Redmond has the audacity to claim to be speaking for a United Ireland when Irishmen show so manifest a disinclination to rally to his support.

At the South King's County Executive, Mr. Meehan, M.P., said :—

"Unfortunately their organisation was backward, not alone in King's County, but in many other parts of Ireland. Alluding to the apathy on the part of the people of Birr in connection with the national organisation, the speaker said :—That he would be the last in the world to find fault, but he said that it was the business men who had failed to give the organisation their support."—*Irish Times*, October 12.

The *Irish Times* reports that at the quarterly meeting of the South Meath Executive of the United Irish League, held on October 10, the Hon. Secretary, Mr. P. J. Newman, D.C., read a letter from Mr. Joseph Devlin, urging the reorganising of the various branches and the necessity for holding public meetings, and pointing out that the total subscriptions to the Parliamentary Fund for the year from South Meath amounted to only £21. The Secretary said they were very backward. Since their last meeting two other branches had fallen away.

The *Kerry Sentinel*, an Irish Nationalist paper, has a leading article (October 13), deploring the financial apathy of the people, in the course of which it says :—

"It would indeed be well if the same spirit were shown at home by the people who have directly and substantially benefited by the work of the Irish party. Complaints have been made of the apathy of our people towards the Parliamentary Fund. There seems good ground for the complaint, for in our country we know that only a very spasmodic and inconsiderable effort has been made to provide funds for the men who are fighting our battles and gaining very considerable concessions for Ireland in the House of Commons. This is not a grateful or patriotic attitude on the part of the people of Kerry. . . . We think, without detracting from American aid, that the Irish at home should be as ready to respond as the Irishmen who enjoy liberty under the Stars and Stripes. In old times priests and people worked together to fill the war chest, and we should fain hope to see them working together now when a General Election is imminent, and when the Irish party need all the financial support the people can give."

When Mr. Redmond or some other Irish Nationalist declares that Ireland demands Home Rule, readers would do well to bear in mind the facts disclosed by the above cuttings. They will see that the demand is, to a large extent, a foreign one, and that Irishmen themselves show remarkably little desire to forward the Home Rule movement by financial assistance. The legislation of the last 20 years is having its effect. When men were discontented they were moved by the promises of better times under another form of Government. But they have got their better condition; why then should they worry about the form of Government

under which they live? That is the explanation of the lack of interest Mr. Redmond finds among his nominal followers.

Home Rule and the General Election.

Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., speaking at Battersea on October 3, said in the course of his speech :—

“One thing was certain, however, and that was that no Irish elector would be called upon to support any candidate who was not prepared to make the concession of Home Rule to Ireland a vital issue in the next election.”—*Freeman's Journal*, October 4.

Mr. Redmond's Campaign.

Mr. Redmond has been holding a series of meetings in the North-West of England, urging upon the electors the importance of giving Ireland Home Rule. Throughout his speeches he insisted upon the fact that Home Rule must be among the leading questions at the General Election.

At Ashton-under-Lyne, on October 12, he said :—

“And I am here to-night to say to all whom it concerns, to Liberals as well as Conservatives, that when the General Election comes, Home Rule for Ireland shall, and must, be amongst the leading issues submitted to the electorate. The policy of silence and evasion which was so largely pursued by the Liberal Leaders at the last election on this question of Ireland, cannot be repeated. For my own part, I have no reason whatever to doubt that the leaders of the Liberal party will place what Mr. Winston Churchill the other day called a national settlement with Ireland in the front amongst the leading issues to be submitted to the electors at the next election. But any way, whether they do or not, I am here to say to you, in the name of the Irish Party and in the name of the Irishmen of Great Britain, that the Irish votes in this country will not be cast in support of any candidate who is not prepared to declare—first, that he is in favour of Home Rule—that is not enough; mere theoretical support is not enough under the conditions—but, in the second place, that he is determined to use his influence to have this Irish question placed among the leading issues that must be dealt with in a practical way in the next Parliament. The Irishmen of Great Britain will not subordinate the question of justice to Ireland to any other question whatever. I assert here to-day that the Irish of Great Britain will cast their votes on Home Rule alone; and they will discard all other questions. The predominant question for them is the question of Home Rule for Ireland.”—*Freeman's Journal*, October 13.

At Barrow-in-Furness, on October 13, he said :—

“At the next election, Ministers, Liberal Ministers, must explicitly place Home Rule amongst the leading issues to be submitted to the electors, and as one of the issues to be practically dealt with in the coming Parliament. I say that it is one indispensable condition upon which Irish votes can be given to the Liberal party in the coming election.”—*Freeman's Journal*, October 14.

And at Cleator Moor the following day he declared :—

“I tell you plainly, though you are mostly supporters of the present Government, that if the Budget is passed by the Lords, and the Government attempt to remain on for the next year or two in office, we will do our best to bring about an immediate election.”
Freeman's Journal, October 15.

“Never mind.”

Very significant of the Irish Home alliance with the Liberal party is a remark that Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., a member of the Government, let fall at a meeting of the Dublin City and County Liberal Association. He said :—

“South Dublin cannot be won from the Tories by Nationalist votes alone. It can be won by this Association. It can be won by the Liberals. . . . It will not be our fault as an Association if these votes are not polled against him.

“A VOICE: For the Nationalists?”

“MR. RUSSELL: NEVER MIND.”—*Freeman's Journal*, October 16.

We commend this to the notice of Liberals in Great Britain.

Home Rule and Old Age Pensions.

Radicals have been industriously circulating the story that if the Unionists come back to power the old people will be deprived of their pensions. Mr. Balfour has unhesitatingly stamped that as a lie. The Radical's ally, Mr. Redmond, however, blurted out the amazing statement at Ashton-under-Lyne on October 12, that under Home Rule the old people would have their pensions fund reduced by “the greater part.” His words—as reported in the *Freeman's Journal* (October 13) are as follows :—

“Do you imagine that if an Irish Parliament existed in Dublin, and if they found they had 2½ millions a year to spend for the benefit of their country, they would have spent the whole of it in old age pensions. Ladies and gentlemen, nothing of the kind. (A voice—“You would spend it better perhaps?”) Yes, we could spend the 2½ millions far better. Some of it would go on old age pensions in Ireland, but the greater part of it could have been spent far better for the development of Ireland and in other ways.”

It is to be hoped that Irish Unionists will not neglect to have this admission readily circulated.

A Bad Job too.

Speaking at Bristol, Mr. Birrell said :—

“These men (the House of Lords) were not members of the Cabinet. They were not responsible for the peace, prosperity, and good order in Ireland. That was the Liberal Government's job, and their job it would remain until the electors turned them out.”—*Freeman's Journal*, October 9.

And a very bad job, too, the Government have made of it.

Pity the Poor Migrants.

From the *Irish Times* (September 27):—

"At a meeting of the Longford and Roscommon (King's County) Branch of the United Irish League, the Secretary (Mr. John Dermody) drew attention to the fact that several 'outsiders' were now the most advanced and persistent claimants for divisions of land, and were endeavouring to use influence of every kind to further their claims.

"The Committee unanimously expressed disapproval of such conduct, and expressed their determination to use every means in their power to oppose all such efforts, as there were many young men in the district with both capital and industry who should be regarded as the natural inheritors of the land. Until these claims are satisfied the members are determined that there shall be no division of the land."

Co. Longford's Condition.

At the opening of the Longford Quarter Sessions, on October 18, Judge Adye Curran, K.C., said, in addressing the Grand Jury:—

"I consider that with only eight cases reported during the previous quarter, I should not hesitate to congratulate you on the state of the country as to ordinary crime, even though there were more cases than during the corresponding period last year; but having regard to the fact that seven people are receiving protection, five of them getting constant protection, and having regard to the fact that still in your country there are six cases of parties wholly boycotted and 33 partly boycotted, I must refrain again from congratulating County Longford on the satisfactory state in which I find it."—*Dublin Daily Express*, October 19.

Cold Shoulder for Nationalists.

From *Sinn Féin*, September 14:—

"At a meeting of the ratepayers in Clogher, Mr. Hugh Treanor, J.P., said that Mr. Russell was returned to Parliament with 2,000 Nationalist votes, and about 400 or 500 Russellite votes. Any jobs that were vacant, and in Mr. Russell's power, were all given to these Russellites, and not a single one to a Nationalist but himself, because he knew that he could do without it. This year he found that William Ritchey's name was down instead of his for the judging of mares at two guineas a day for a week. His name had to be scratched out, for, said Mr. Russell 'this will never do, we must give them something.' His name was therefore scratched out, and his (Mr. Treanor's) was kept on. Out of eight or nine jobs not one had been given by Mr. Russell to a Nationalist, notwithstanding he was returned by the Nationalist vote, and only for the Nationalists of South Tyrone he would not be drawing his £1,350 a year."

Brother Patriots.

"Mr. J. P. Farrell, M.P., arrived at Newtownforbes for the purpose of reorganising the Clonguish Branch of the United Irish

League. The meeting was about to commence when Mr. John Phillips, M.P., accompanied by Mr. Pat M'Cann, President of the Clonguish Branch, and Mr. P. M'Kenna, 'National Director' for Westmeath, walked up towards Mr. Farrell's carriage, and, it is said, were about to enter it when Mr. Farrell ordered them away, and said, 'We will have none of you. Away with you.' Immediately cries were raised that Mr. Phillips should get a hearing, and the members of the Clonguish Branch lifted Mr. Phillips and Mr. M'Kenna, and placed them upon a car, which was driven within a few feet of Mr. Farrell's carriage. Then followed an extraordinary scene. Mr. Farrell and Mr. Phillips attempted to address the meeting, but the two parties, into which the crowd was now divided, were trying to hawl down the speakers. Above the din an occasional remark could be heard, such as 'It is a disgrace!' 'We will hear him!' 'Two hundred a month!'

"Mr. Phillips: Where are the traitors now? (Cheers.)

"Mr. Duffy (from Mr. Farrell's carriage): You can go to — !

"A regular pandemonium ensued, and eventually Mr. Farrell said: He is paid by Dublin Castle to come here and create disunion. The whole plot was hatched in the Crown Solicitor's office in Longford.

"Mr. Phillips: What did you get out of jail for? Where are your followers now?

"Mr. Farrell: We have called this meeting to reorganise the Clonguish Branch of the League.

"Mr. Phillips: I shall address my constituents. (Cheers.)

"Mr. Duffy: Put him out of that!

"An attempt was made to move the car nearer to Mr. Farrell, and a free fight ensued between the followers of each speaker. The police did not interfere.

"When quietness had been somewhat restored Mr. Duffy said: We may quit the League! They have damned it. (Cheers.)

"Mr. Farrell read the resolutions amidst a storm of groans and cheers.

"Mr. M'Kenna said that no man would stifle his voice, and he called for Clonguish to stand to its guns.

"Mr. Phillips: Farrell, I shall meet you again and again. Where is the six hundred?

"Mr. M'Kenna: The ranches for the people. (Cheers.) I didn't crawl to Birrell when under sentence!

"Mr. Farrell: You took very good care to be out of the way!

"One of Mr. Farrell's party approached Mr. Phillips with a couple of yards of the 'Stars and Stripes' flying from a staff, and waving it called for peace, but the struggle around the flag of freedom induced him to return to his own party.

"Mr. M'Kenna: Who got the people batoned? (Boos.)

"Mr. Phillips: His whole object was to cause a split in this parish.

"Mr. Farrell: Will you allow him to destroy the League in this manner? I appeal to you to stand up and carry on the League, and re-elect the officers to their positions. . .

"Mr. Phillips proceeded to read a letter from Mr. Farrell when in prison.

"Just as Mr. Phillips stood upon the 'well' of the car to comment on the letter, the horse plunged forward, and Mr. Phillips fell back, but he succeeded in grasping the rail of the car, and saved himself. Mr. M'Kenna was caught by some friends, and Mr. Williams, who was also on the car, was seriously hurt by falling on his back. Mr. Farrell remained standing in his carriage. After a little he left the field with his supporters, and went through the village, and Mr. M'Kenna and Mr. Phillips, M.P., proceeded with their speeches." *Irish Times*, October 5.

An Amazing Charge.

To show how far the mutual hatred of the "patriots" can go, we find Mr. Farrell, M.P., charging his colleague, Mr. Phillips, M.P., with endeavouring to murder his brother-in-law. In an interview published in the *Westmeath Nationalist* (October 16), Mr. Farrell is reported to have said:—

"Mr. Phillips is an old enemy of mine. During the Parnell split he tried to get my brother-in-law murdered at the races of Edgeworthstown in March, 1892. We had a bitter controversy then, and he actually brought a number of hired rowdies into my own shop to beat me."

We refrain from comment.

Why he wanted to be M.P.

Mr. Farrell was out to reveal the seamy side of Irish Home Rule politics that day. One of his political foes is a Mr. Patrick M'Kenna, a member of the National Directory of the United Irish League, and one who aspired to Parliamentary honours.

Now Irish Nationalists, we are always told, only accept the honour of representing their country at Westminster because they hope to wring benefits from the hated Saxon, and obtain for Ireland a national Parliament. Persons of single-minded purpose we have been taught to regard these members from across the Irish Sea. Mr. Farrell, alas! has rudely dispelled this belief. He is reported to have informed his interviewer that Mr. Patrick M'Kenna told him that he wanted to get into Parliament "to represent at a salary of £400 a year the Pig Dealers' Association"! This Mr. M'Kenna denies, declaring it to be "an absolute falsehood;" They may be allowed to settle their own differences. But when the "patriots" fall out, the country gets to know secret history in a way that destroys any belief it might have entertained in the boasted disinterestedness and unity of the Irish Home Rulers.

Candid "Patriots."

Mr. M'Kenna on Mr. Farrell, M.P.

"J. P. Farrell suffers from what is known as swelled head. A mean, contemptible politician."
—*Westmeath Nationalist*, October 16.

Mr. Farrell, M.P., on Mr. M'Kenna.

"This ambitious pig-buyer. Some prominent pig-buyers said they had even less faith in his judgment of pigs than in his judgment of politics."
—*Westmeath Nationalist*, October 16.

Apparently the only point upon which the parties are agreed is that the other party is about as low a specimen of Irishman as it is possible to become.

Nationalist Disunity.

The *Dublin Daily Express* (October 4) reports the following remarkable scenes when Captain Condon went to Kilkenny to receive the freedom of the City.

The report reads :—

"The Town Clerk (Mr. E. O'Connell) proceeded to read letters of apology. The first was from Mr. Pat O'Brien, M.P.

"Alderman Purcell at this point rose and said: On a point of order, Mr. Mayor, were these men invited to this meeting?

"Mr. Peter M'Laughry (Sinn Fein): The strawberries and cream men.

"Alderman Purcell: When these men were not invited, I object to the letters being read. (Cheers.)

"Mr. Peter M'Laughry: That is only soft soap for the next election.

"The Town Clerk did not conclude the reading of apologies. Addresses of welcome were then read.

"The Mayor then presented to Mr. Condon the certificates conferring on him the freedom of the city, also the resolution of the Corporation.

"The reading of an address of welcome from the North Kilkenny Executive U.I.L. by Mr. Denis O'Carroll, Castlecomer, gave rise to several scenes of disorder.

"The sentence in the address which gave rise to the uproar was: 'As members of the only National organisation existent in Ireland, and which has for its aim the realisation of the aspirations which led you, Captain Condon, to risk your liberty and your life in Manchester 42 years ago —'

"The shouting and hisses which were at once raised completely drowned Mr. O'Carroll's voice. He was unable to proceed any further, and Mr. Wall (Sinn Fein) called on the Mayor to rule the address out of order.

"Alderman James Nowlan characterised the statement that the U.I.L. was the only National organisation existent in Ireland as 'a d—— lie.' Alderman Nowlan struck the table in front of the Mayor in a violent manner, and declared excitedly: I object to him being heard any further. Down with it. (Uproar.)

"Mr. O'Carroll endeavoured to reply, but the shouting and hissing which continued prevented him from being heard.

"A man in the body of the hall called for three cheers for John Redmond. The Sinn Feiners chorused 'Down with him.'

"Mr. Stallard (Sinn Fein): We invited Captain Condon here, but not the man who threw mud on Anna Parnell. (Cheers.)

"The Sinn Feiners continued to yell and shout, but the Mayor said they should accord a hearing to every section of Nationalists.

"Mr. Wall (Sinn Fein): Captain Condon was the only man invited to Kilkenny. Do you want us, Mr. Mayor, to listen to that rot?

"Alderman Nowlan: That is all it is.

"Mr. O'Carroll then proceeded with the reading of the address, and was greeted with such observations as 'liars,' 'rot,' 'strawberries and cream men.' Mr. O'Carroll was repeatedly interrupted, but endeavoured as best he could to shout down his interrupters, and finally read the address through."

An Apt Quotation.

Mr. J. B. Lonsdale, speaking at Drumhillery, Co. Armagh, on October 9, said:—

"When the political epitaph of the present Chief Secretary came to be written he knew of nothing more suitable for the purpose than those lines which were written by the poet Dryden of another statesman who was false to his trust:—

"During his office treason was no crime,
The sons of Belial had a glorious time,
For laws were only made to punish those
Who serve the King and to protect his foes."

—*Northern Whig*, October 11.

LIFE IN IRELAND.

A Diary of Outrages, etc., under Radical Rule.

"Ireland is quiet now."—Mr. Birrell, House of Commons, July 21.

"Where is the crime and terrorism in Ireland? . . . The country is in a state of absolute tranquility and peace."—Mr. Redmond, Arklow, July 4.

September 19—King's Co.—In the village of Thomastown, near Birr, wild scenes were witnessed. The Eglisish branch of the U.I.L. desired to make a collection for the Parliamentary fund, and for that purpose placed a table outside the chapel door, but the Drumcullen branch, which is in the centre of the Thomastown district, objected to the collection. Extraordinary scenes followed, in which the table was smashed to pieces, and a hand-to-hand conflict ensued, which was not quelled until the police intervened.—*Belfast News Letter*, September 22.

September 21—Co. Galway.—A considerable portion of the frontage of the premises occupied by District Inspector Meran, in Galway, was covered with tar during the night. The premises are situated next door to the police barracks, and the daring perpetrators succeeded in carrying out their work unobserved.—*Dublin Daily Express*, September 22.

September 25—Co. Tipperary.—A correspondent of the *Dublin Daily Express* reports that Constable James Heaney, one of the policemen, who was seriously injured in the riot at Thurles in June last (see IRISH FACTS, June 21), has, in consequence, been discharged as physically unfit for further service.

September 26—Co. Wexford.—Thomas M'Carthy, a labouring man, arrested at Bolteenagh, was charged in custody with having maliciously set fire to a turf rick, the property of an adjoining farmer named John Donovan. The accused was remanded to next Petty Sessions.—*Irish Times*, September 28.

September 27—Co. Waterford.—At Waterford Quarter Sessions John Shean, a farmer's son, was charged with having, on August 15, at Ballykinsella, near Tranmore, wilfully set fire to the dwelling-house of a farmer named Michael Hanway (see IRISH FACTS, August 24). The jury found the accused guilty, and he was sentenced to imprisonment for 12 months.—*Irish Times*, September 28.

September 27—Co. Waterford.—At Waterford Quarter Sessions Patrick Lyons, a farmer, of Cullencastle, near Tranmore, applied for the sum of £400 compensation for the alleged burning of his house, &c., on July 3. During the hearing the applicant's counsel stated, that when Lyons purchased this farm, letters were written to the local press condemning his action, and the former owner tried to get Lyons boycotted. On June 28 a notice demanding possession was served on the Hydcs', and on July 3 the house was burnt down. A decree for £286 14s. was granted.—*Dublin Daily Express*, September 29.

September 29—King's Co.—At Birr Quarter Sessions, a compensation claim was made by Mr. B. C. Williams, of Cloughjordan, Co. Tipperary, for deterioration of eight head of cattle on August 25 last. The applicant deposed that on August 26 he discovered that two gaps were broken down and eight valuable cattle missing. The animals were not found until two days afterwards, and upon recovery they were greatly wrecked. A decree for £14 was granted.—*Dublin Daily Express*, September 30.

September 30—Co. Kildare.—At Naas Quarter Sessions application was made by Patrick Short, of Castlebrown, for £12 compensation for the malicious burning of four cocks of hay, on August 12 last. Sergeant Farrell, of Clare, gave evidence to show that on the night of the date mentioned while on patrol he saw the hay on fire in Mr. Short's field, and detected a man running away, but who escaped in the darkness. The sergeant also stated that Mr. Short's meadows had been spiked this year. A decree for the full amount was granted.—*Freeman's Journal*, October 1.

October 7—Co. Kilkenny.—At the Quarter Sessions held at Kilkenny Patrick Campion, of Tubbrid, Freshford, applied to recover £50 compensation for the malicious burning of a dwelling-house situated on the Scully estate at Tullaroan. The counsel for the plaintiff said that the manner in which the estate had been split up amongst the evicted tenants had caused a good deal of dissatisfaction in the district, and on the day that the inspector came to parcel out the farms there was practically a riot, and in some cases he was prevented from giving the land to several people. The applicant had been transferred into the parish of Tullaroan, and that, he alleged, accounted for the burning of the house. A decree for £35 was granted.—*Irish Times*, October 8.

October 7—Co. Tipperary.—At Tullamore Quarter Sessions Mr. John Stone, of Lurgan, made a claim for £620 compensation in respect of the burning of the dwelling-house known as "Birdville," near Ballycumber. Counsel for the plaintiff said the house was formerly occupied by a woman named Mrs. Rachel Bryan, who, becoming indebted to the Ulster Bank, a deed of mortgage was executed, and being unable to realise the amount of the debt, the farm was put up for sale. The sale was boycotted, threats were used, and purchasers were warned not to buy. Later on the plaintiff made an offer for the farm. Mrs. Bryan, the former tenant, on hearing of this, offered opposition, and when the emergency man arrived, shouted, "Hurrah for the United Irish League, and down with the grabbers." Stone went into occupation, and let the grazing to another man. A threatening notice was posted on the Ballycumber railway bridge. It was headed, "Birdville Evicted Farms," and ran:—"Fellow-countrymen, remember to stand by the owner of Birdville Farm and her family, who were evicted without a settlement from the place she bought. Now is the critical time, when another party entered into her place without her consent, and against the public opinion of the district. Now is the time for you to show your sympathy by stamping out the grabber Stone. Justice to the evicted." On the morning of May 15, after the police had left to return to barracks, the dwelling-house was fired and destroyed. A decree for £356 was granted.—*Irish Times*, October 8.

October 13—Co. Limerick.—A correspondent of the *Irish Times*

reports that a quantity of hay, and the shed in which it was stored, were destroyed by fire a few nights ago, at Meelick. The owner of the property is a Mr. Robert Nix, D.C.

October 15—Co. Galway.—The house of a man named William Spratt, a Presbyterian blacksmith, was fired into at night, the windows being shattered. The police state that revolvers were used, and bullets were found embedded in the walls of the house. Spratt has been working for a man named Farrington, against whom there is some popular ill-feeling in connection with land.—*Belfast News Letter*, October 18.

October 16—Co. Kildare.—A correspondent of the *Irish Times* reports that a very extensive cattle-drive took place near Booleigh some evenings ago, when 35 head of cattle were driven off a farm.

October 21—Co. Limerick.—There was considerable excitement at Cappamore, in connection with the service of 11 notices to quit on tenants for having refused to pay rent unless a reduction of about 30 per cent. was allowed to the occupiers of houses in the village. No local officer could be had to serve the notices, and accordingly the services of a Court messenger had to be requisitioned. A large crowd collected, booing and groaning, and the Court messenger had to be protected by a force of 30 constables from Newpallas. A branch of the Town Tenants' League has organised strong agitation with a view to reducing house rents in the village.—*Irish Times*, October 22.

October 21—Co. Monaghan.—An occurrence of a shocking character was discovered at Newbliss. A costly monument and railing, recently erected in the cemetery attached to Newbliss Presbyterian Church, was maliciously torn up by some persons. Some weeks ago, two young men named Graham, on a visit in the district from America, erected a very handsome marble headstone and railing around a burial plot, which contained the remains of their father and mother. They afterwards returned to America. The affair has caused a great deal of indignation in the district.—*Irish Times*, October 23.

MALICIOUS INJURIES.*

Date of Award.	District.	Amount.	Particulars.
1909.		£ s. d.	
June 23	Kilkenny Qr. Sess.	100 0 0	Burning a wood.
June 23	Kilkenny Qr. Sess.	100 0 0	Burning fox covert.
June 24	Tuam Qr. Sess. ..	10 0 0	Injury to cattle driven.
June 25	Tralee Qr. Sess. ..	4 0 0	Damage to a house.
June 25	Tralee Qr. Sess. ..	2 0 0	Damage to crops.
June 26	Gort Qr. Sess. ..	5 0 0	Injury to cattle driven.
June 26	Gort Qr. Sess. ..	20 0 0	Injury to a mare.
June 26	Gort Qr. Sess. ..	3 0 0	Burning grazing land.
Sept. 29	Birr Qr. Sess. ..	14 12 6	Injury to cattle driven.
Sept. 29	Waterford Qr. Sess.	286 14 0	Burning a house.
Sept. 30	Naas Qr. Sess. ..	12 0 0	Burning hay.
Oct. 7	Kilkenny Qr. Sess.	35 0 0	Burning a house.
Oct. 7	Limerick Qr. Sess.	5 4 0	Damage to property.
Oct. 7	Limerick Qr. Sess.	110 0 0	Burning a house.
Oct. 7	Tullamore Qr. Sess.	336 0 0	Burning a house.
Oct. 8	Carlow Qr. Sess. ...	5 5 0	Damage to crops.
Oct. 9	Castlerea Qr. Sess.	13 3 0	Burning a house.
Oct. 9	Castlerea Qr. Sess.	8 10 0	Burning a house.
Oct. 18	Banbridge Qr. Sess.	25 0 0	Damage to a mill.
Oct. 19	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	10 0 0	Injury to cattle driven.
Oct. 19	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	9 0 0	Injury to cattle driven.
Oct. 19	Ennis Qr. Sess. ..	12 10 0	Injury to cattle driven.
Oct. 21	Ballymote Qr. Sess.	6 8 6	Injury to a turf clamp.
Oct. 22	Wicklow Qr. Sess.	24 0 0	Burning farm produce.
Oct. 22	Wicklow Qr. Sess.	5 15 0	Burning farm produce.
Oct. 22	Wicklow Qr. Sess.	36 0 0	Burning farm produce.
Oct. 22	Wicklow Qr. Sess.	2 0 0	Burning farm produce.
Oct. 22	Wicklow Qr. Sess.	2 0 0	Burning farm produce.
Oct. 22	Wicklow Qr. Sess.	28 0 0	Burning farm produce.
Oct. 22	Wicklow Qr. Sess.	9 0 0	Burning farm produce.
Oct. 22	Wicklow Qr. Sess.	2 0 0	Burning farm produce.
Oct. 22	Wicklow Qr. Sess.	36 0 0	Burning farm produce.
Oct. 22	Wicklow Qr. Sess.	10 5 0	Damage to shooting butts.
Oct. 22	Clare Qr. Sess. ..	18 10 0	Injury to a cow.
Oct. 22	Clare Qr. Sess. ..	16 0 0	Burning hay.
Oct. 22	Clare Qr. Sess. ..	5 0 0	Injury to a colt.
Oct. 22	Rathkeale Qr. Sess.	4 10 0	Burning hay.
Oct. 22	Rathkeale Qr. Sess.	10 10 0	Damage to machinery.

Total Awarded £1,242 17s. 0d.

* These figures are taken from Irish newspapers. They are not official, and it is not to be assumed that the list includes all awards given within the above period.

WHAT HOME RULE MEANS.

AN AMAZING CLAIM.

HOME RULERS say that by Home Rule they merely mean that Ireland shall have a Parliament to deal with purely Irish affairs. Opponents naturally inquire what is meant by the phrase "purely Irish affairs." Mr. Birrell, speaking at Bristol on October 8, was reported by the *Freeman's Journal* (October 9) to have relegated the Irish Land Bill, which involves Imperial credit to the extent of £200,000,000, to the position of a purely Irish question. His reported words are:—

"There was no indifference towards Ireland in the mind of the Liberal members of Parliament—but it was ignorance, and it was not blameworthy ignorance, because it was an incurable ignorance. . . . The time must come—it could not be long delayed—when commonsense and business principles would relegate to Ireland the discussion of so purely an Irish question."

The claim was so amazing that Mr. Walter Long naturally considered it to be worth considerable publicity. Accordingly he wrote to the editor of *The Times* the following letter:—

"SIR,—Mr. Redmond has announced that if there is an election the decision of the electors will be taken to mean that the country is in favour of Home Rule, and that the power of the House of Lords to veto a measure sent up from the House of Commons will be gone. We also hear that Mr. T. P. O'Connor is to go to America in search of funds. This is interesting, and I hope will be duly noted by all who believe that the Union ought to be maintained.

"But Mr. Birrell's remarkable utterance at Bristol on Friday seems to me to be of much graver import.

"Referring to the debates on the Irish Land Bill, he is reported in *The Times* of the 9th inst. to have said that 'the time must come, it could not be long delayed, when commonsense and business principles would relegate to Ireland the discussion of so purely an Irish question.' What is this 'purely Irish question'? It is a proposal to pledge the credit of the country to the enormous amount of £200,000,000; and one of the many subsidiary questions which has given rise to a great deal of debate is whether a portion of this vast sum shall be used to buy land on which to settle the 'congests' who cannot live on their present holdings, or whether it shall be employed to find land for the large numbers of landless men who wish to have farms found them at the expense of the State! The decision arrived at upon this 'detail' must very seriously affect the security of the nation's immense investment; and though the taxpayers of the United Kingdom are to find the money and run the risk, the people of Ireland alone are to settle this, among many other, important questions. It is incredible that the electors of the kingdom will quietly acquiesce in so audacious a proposal, and yet this is apparently what is suggested by Messrs. Birrell and Redmond."—*Times*, October 12.

To this Mr. Birrell replied with the following communication :—

"SIR,—Mr. Long must have been misled by a scanty report of a long speech. I spent some time in showing to my Bristol constituents how deeply the Imperial Treasury is involved in the scheme of land purchase in Ireland, how completely the finance of the Act of 1903 had broken down, and to how considerable an extent this same Treasury is now willing to come to the relief of a scheme which otherwise must die. I pointed out, as I felt bound to do, that whilst the Act of 1903 provided as its limit a free gift of 12 million pounds for the purpose of accelerating land purchase in Ireland, the present measure now before Parliament turns 12 millions into (at least) 25 millions; and I added my conviction that, were Mr. Long to return to the Irish Office to-morrow, he would not be able to get any better terms from his Chancellor of the Exchequer than I have done from Mr. Lloyd George.

"I never suggested or implied that this financial aspect of the case was 'a purely Irish question,' or was one which ought to be settled by Irish votes alone. On the contrary, I insisted upon the obligations the Imperial Exchequer has already incurred in this matter, and upon the increased obligations this Bill, if it becomes law, will impose upon the taxpayer, as reasons why it is imperatively urgent to put the whole law relating to the sale and purchase of land in Ireland, and particularly in the west, upon a sound and enduring basis, both financial and social.

"Having endeavoured to make this much plain, I proceeded to point out how great and how incurable is the ignorance prevailing in both Houses of Parliament as to the principles, details, and past history of the Irish land question, and as to its present position, both east and west of the Shannon, after five years' administration of the Act of 1903.

"Mr. Long, who is an Irish member, may be satisfied with the way the country he represents is governed, and think the only improvement necessary is a shuffling of English parties; and I should not have attempted to interfere with his self-satisfaction, had he not misrepresented me as proposing that questions of Imperial finance should be relegated to an Irish Parliament."—*Times*, Oct. 14.

Mr. Birrell's excuses are not convincing, as Mr. Long points out in his second letter. He writes :—

"SIR,—Circumstances have prevented me from replying to Mr. Birrell's letter of the 14th inst. before.

"I really do not understand why he takes exception to my original statement. He tells us now that he never suggested that the financial aspect of the case was a purely Irish question. Then what did he mean when he gave a description of the debate in the House of Commons, and of the position of members in that House, and then stated that an Irish Parliament ought to deal with a purely Irish question? What is the purely Irish question if not the Land Bill? And even if he has some plan by which he proposes that finance should be discussed in the Parliament of the United Kingdom and the rest of the measure discussed in an Irish Parliament, how does he dispose of my contention that the security for the money

lent by the United Kingdom to Ireland would be seriously affected by the settlement of such issues as the one I specially referred to?

"I can assure Mr. Birrell that I am not at all satisfied with the way Ireland is at present governed, but I do not think the alteration suggested by him would be likely to improve matters."—*Times*, Oct. 19.

Unionists will not neglect to point out the lesson to be learnt from this correspondence—the impossibility of deciding what is a "purely Irish question." As a matter of fact, the interests of Great Britain and Ireland are so intimately bound together that no man is able to separate them into two divisions in a way that will stand criticism.

Home Rulers who endeavour to lull the country into believing that Home Rule is to be only a small matter, are playing false, as this correspondence clearly shows.

PREPARING THE WAY.

THE THREATENED LAWLESSNESS.

The Home Rule agitators are threatening a winter campaign of lawlessness because the House of Lords have dared to amend the Irish Land Bill. That Bill, it will be remembered, passed the House of Commons with such a pretence of discussion that the Chief Secretary was compelled to admit that "some parts of it had not received proper or, indeed, any Parliamentary discussion."—(House of Commons, September 17)—and Mr. Redmond declared that "the whole of the Session could be most properly devoted to the discussion of this Bill."

Obviously, by these confessions, the House of Lords were fully justified in discussing the Bill: and if discussion was justified, amendment must also be allowed, since questions previously undiscussed would arise. Without liberty to amend, discussion would be a farce. These considerations are in anticipation of the future, when Liberals will no doubt be declaring that the House of Lords are responsible for the campaign of lawlessness. Responsibility rests entirely with the Government: first, for having allowed it to become generally understood that law-breaking was the only way to obtain law-making in their interests; and, secondly, for propagating the doctrine that the House of Lords are to be attacked for amending any Government Bills.

The only difference between Liberals and the Irish Home Rulers in regard to the second matter is that the former confine their protests to the platform, while the latter determine to give it effectiveness by a campaign of disorder.

How ready the agitators are to break out again, and how they have chafed against their instructions to "give Birrell a chance," may be gathered from the following extracts.

Even Mr. Redmond, responsible leader though he claims to be, is found in the ranks of those who promise an outbreak of lawlessness. At Ashton-under-Lyne, on October 12, he said:—

"Ireland has been quiet (!) because she believed Mr. Birrell would be able to pass a Bill to remedy these injustices. If the landlords wreck this Bill, I ask the people of England to put the responsibility for whatever may happen on the right shoulders. All I say for the present is this, and I say it quite plainly to the House of Lords, the Irish landlords, and to everyone concerned—if this Bill be wrecked, we in Ireland will not tamely submit to it."—*Freeman's Journal*, October 13.

When the leader expresses such opinions, can surprise be felt that the lesser fry indulge in similar threats?

Mr. John Fitzgibbon, who presided at a meeting of the South Roscommon Executive of the United Irish League, held at Tonlagee, on October 3, said :—

“When the Bill went back to the Lords, if they refused to pass it, their organisation would know how to deal with them, and the country would show it was equal to the occasion.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, October 4.

At the same meeting, Mr. J. P. Hayden, M.P., said :—

“They were approaching an important crisis in the history of the Nationalist movement. The Lords had mutilated the Bill intended to make good the defects in the Land Bill of 1903, but the House of Commons would send it back to them in the shape it first left the Commons, and if they again refuse to pass it the question arose—what was the duty of the people at home? (A Voice : ‘The hazel.’) It was the duty of the people to show the Lords that if they could not obtain justice by legal means they would get it anyhow.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, October 4.

The Rev. Dr. O’Dea, speaking at Gort on October 17, said :—

“He anticipated ‘a hot winter’ in Ireland if the Land Bill be rejected or mutilated, and, in that event, said he should never raise his voice against disorder, except in so far as it was a violation of the Ten Commandments.”—*Irish Independent*, October 18.

Mr. David Sheehy, M.P., speaking at a public meeting of the Swords Branch of the United Irish League, held on October 18, said :—

“They in Ireland wanted compulsion, and they should have it. If they did not get it by legislative means, then they would have it for themselves. Before the end of November was reached they would know whether the House of Lords would consent to compulsion. If not, then the graziers, grabbers, and landlords should take notice that there was never such music in Ireland before as there would be then, and that the cattle-driving that took place two or three years ago was only a mere shadow to what would take place during the coming winter and spring. . . . He knew the determination of the people in this matter; and even if the Irish party told the people to stop cattle-driving they would not do so. . . . He held and demanded that the land should be given to the people who wanted it, or otherwise the people would have to take action themselves.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, October 19.

Mr. J. J. Clancy, K.C., M.P., speaking at a meeting of the Swords Branch of the United Irish League, held on October 18, said :—

“From the attitude of the House of Lords towards the Land Bill, he was afraid there was a further period of agitation before the country—a further period of unrest, agitation, and, he hoped, not worse.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, October 19.

Mr. John O’Dowd, M.P., speaking at a meeting of the South Sligo Executive of the United Irish League, on October 18, said :—

"If the Lords send back the Bill in its present state to the House of Commons, it will not be accepted by the Irish people, and the land war in Ireland will be worse than ever it had been before, if we don't gain what we are fighting for."—*Freeman's Journal*, October 19.

Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., speaking at Roundstone on October 17, said:—

"He took that opportunity of saying that if the landlords wrecked the Birrell Bill, or mutilated it so as to render it useless and unacceptable to the Irish people, their action would be regarded as a declaration of war upon the nation, and the challenge would be accepted, and the issue fought out, with an alacrity and a thoroughness of which they had hitherto had no example even in Ireland. The people wanted the land, and they were determined to have it."—*Freeman's Journal*, October 19.

Mr. Patrick M'Kenna, speaking at a meeting of the Killare Branch of the United Irish League, held on October 19, said:—

"If the Lords persisted in this attitude, they would be leading to a revolution such as was never before witnessed in the history of the land struggle in this country."—*Freeman's Journal*, October 20.

At the quarterly meeting of the North Westmeath Divisional Executive of the United Irish League, held on October 7, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"We give them (the House of Lords) due notice that if they ignore these warnings from the Irish party and the Irish people, they will be responsible for precipitating an agitation of a more intense and urgent character than yet seen in this country, and one which will bring the Irish landlords to a sense of justice to the people more quickly and in a less pleasant manner than the present Land Bill."

At the same meeting, Mr. John P. Hayden, M.P., said:—

"If they were shortsighted enough to insist on mutilating the Bill, then it would become the duty of the people of Ireland to raise up a vigorous agitation which would compel them to pass a still better Bill."—*Dublin Daily Express*, October 9.

At the quarterly meeting of the South Meath Executive, on October 10, the following resolution was adopted:—

"We warn the Government that the agitation which has been the cause of the settlement of the land question in the past will be intensified during the coming winter, and will continue until the House of Lords is forced to recognise the just demands of the Irish people."

Mr. Michael Conway, one of the speakers, said:—

"The Land Bill had been mutilated by the House of Lords, and the Bill cannot be accepted by the Irish party. That meant that the Irish agrarian question will be thrown back into the melting pot. They would see in Ireland a greater and a more determined agitation than was ever known in Ireland for many years."—*Irish Times*, October 12.

Mr. Meehan, M.P., speaking at a meeting of the South King's County Executive of the United Irish League, held on October 10, said :—

“Suppose that the Lords succeeded in mangling this Land Bill to such an extent as to deprive it of its principal advantages, what was to be the action of the people of this country? What would be the action of the Irish party? He had no authority to speak for the Irish party only as a member, but in his opinion, if the Lords relegated from it its principal provisions, the Irish party would repudiate that Bill, refuse to accept it, and go back to the people of Ireland, and ask them once more to begin the struggle, and to end the House of Lords—that engine of mischief and that unmitigated curse to the people of Ireland.”—*Irish Times*, October 12.

Mr. Reddy, M.P., speaking at the same meeting, announced that :—

“He had obtained the views of Mr. Dillon as to what would be the consequences if the Land Bill were thrown out, and his reply was: ‘If it is, and comes back to the House of Commons, it will be sent back again in its entirety, and if not then accepted, we will appeal to the people at home and let them settle the matter. If the Land Bill was rejected by the Lords, the people could organise a ‘drive’ in every county in Ireland, which would take all the soldiers of the country, together with those that were in South Africa, to stop.”—*Irish Times*, October 12.

At a meeting of the Ballintubber Branch of the United Irish League, held on October 10, the following resolution was unanimously adopted :—

“... We are now more determined than ever to resort again to the weapons that proved so valuable in the past in clearing the grazing ranches, and we pledge ourselves, at a moment's notice from our leaders, in the event of the clauses dealing with compulsion not being restored to the Bill, and the grass ranches divided amongst the people, to once more take the hazels from under the rafters and pass a Land Bill on the hillsides during the coming winter, and on the members of the Guilded Chamber will rest the responsibility of our action in renewing the agitation, which was lying dormant in anticipation of the passage of the Land Bill.”—*Dublin Daily Express*, October 12.

At a meeting of the Claremorris Branch of the United Irish League, held on October 10, Mr. Denis O'Kelly, D.C., referring to Lord Oranmore and Browne's recent speech in the House of Lords, said :—

“We will organise very soon a vigorous campaign against the carrion crow from Castlemagarrett, Lord Oranmore, who is the last trouble of all landlords in Connaught, by agitation, and who is the only bigot in the House of Lords who tries to throw dirt on the people of Ireland. We will let him see a bit of real fight this winter, this scoundrel—and he is nothing else, for he said in the House of Lords: ‘Are you going to give the corner-boys of Ireland land?’ We promise Lord Oranmore—the mighty lord of Castlemagarrett—a dose he will not soon forget, and, insignificant as we appear, we will teach him and the House of Lords a lesson; and when the agitation is organised, I will be in the forefront to show up the scandalous bigotry of Oranmore.”

Mr. Michael O'Boyle, another speaker, declared that:—

"If one in five were like me, Lord Oranmore would not walk much through his woods."

Several of the members, the report says, endorsed the remarks of Messrs. O'Kelly and O'Boyle. Mr. O'Kelly, referring to the Land Bill, further said:—

"The Lords were trying to mutilate it and render it worthless, but if the people were united this winter they would show the Lords that the people must rule. He assured them the winter would be a hot one if the Bill were mutilated; it would be particularly hot in Mayo, where the demand for distribution of the farms was so pressing. . . We have to-day set fire to a torch in Claremorris that will bring vigour and hope to every Branch of the League in South Mayo and enthuse them with a fire to conduct the winter campaign against the landlords in a real fighting style."—*Dublin Daily Express*, October 12.

THE AMERICAN ENVOYS' TRIP.

IRISH CONDITIONS IMPROVED

BUT

HER INDEPENDENCE STILL DEMANDED.

The American Envoys have returned, after being fêted, receiving the freedom of various Irish towns, and making innumerable speeches. A study of their utterances brings out only two important facts:—

(1) That they admit that Ireland has made great progress in recent years.

(2) That they submit to the constitutional policy, although they do not abandon their adherence to the principle of "physical force."

As typical of their reference to the vast improvement in the condition of Ireland, the following extract from Captain Condon's speech at Kilkenny, on October 3, is appended. He said:—

"He was invited, as was his comrade, to look over Ireland and see for themselves what improvements had been effected, and he had seen many of them. He had seen the farmers lifted from the condition of slaves and serfs to be the owners of the property. He had seen the labourers put in possession of neat and comfortable cottages, which they had never enjoyed before. When men came back to them in the United States, after making a tour of Ireland, they said, 'How poor your people in the rural districts are!' Now they could ask them to look over the country and see the vast improvements that had been effected, when over 40,000 labourers' cottages, neat and satisfactory, had been built. He said that as a result of this work the population of Ireland had increased the last year, which it never did before for 50 years. He saw, too, thousands of instances where evicted tenants had been restored to their homes. There could be nothing more humiliating, nothing more depressing in the world, than the sight of the suffering of the man who had been evicted—his old father and mother, his wife, perhaps, who looked up to him with confidence and affection, his little children—all thrown out on the roadside to perish. He saw these men put back, and it was more than a satisfaction to himself to see one of these men put back. He was one of those who tried to have these men put back by other means, but that was not successful, and he knew the gentlemen who talked so much three thousand miles away about physical force were the men who prevented that being done. He had seen, too, a National University established."—*Freeman's Journal*, October 4.

There is little in the above with which Unionists disagree. Captain Condon, however, fails to see that it entirely gives away the case for Home Rule. Clearly Home Rule is not of paramount necessity when it is admitted by Home Rulers that Ireland can make rapid progress and improvement under the present form of government.

The second fact is his admission that he perceives that constitutional agitation is better than "physical force."

At Waterford, on October 5, for example, he said:—

"There had been no change whatever in his opinions, or in the opinions of those who thought with him, that Ireland has the right to her freedom, and that her people were as well entitled to absolute independence as any nation on the face of God's earth. Ireland determined to have recourse to Parliamentary means to achieve her rights, and it was only right that their kith and kin across the Atlantic should assist them by every means in their power. What should an old Fenian do under these circumstances? Should he advise them to sit down and do nothing? Should he not, on the other hand, do all that he could to help them in their good work of trying to benefit their country and to secure their legislative independence?"—*Freeman's Journal*, October 6, 1909.

And at Ennis, on October 6, he said:—

"They had found a progress more than they anticipated—an advance more almost than could have been achieved by physical force. They had come to indicate the fact that they were prepared to aid and help in every way in their power with their brethren across the water the good work that was being done by the Irish Parliamentary party under the gifted leadership of Mr. John E. Redmond. Different times brought different methods, and the people resolved to do whatever could be accomplished for their country with the means at their hand. Instead of leaving the country, instead of sitting down and doing nothing, they made up their minds to advance, to secure whatever could be gained to benefit the country and bring it a step nearer to independence."—*Freeman's Journal*, October 7, 1909.

Readers will, however, notice that on both occasions he spoke of Ireland's "Independence." The object to be acquired is still the same, although the methods have been abandoned.

So at Cork he declared that:—

"Ireland had an inalienable right to freedom. They had not abandoned, and would never abandon, the recognition of Ireland's right to freedom."—*Freeman's Journal*, October 11.

Perhaps Mr. Devlin, M.P., at Cork, put the position as neatly as possible. He said:—

"Captain Condon had not changed in his hopes, in his passions, and in his aspirations for Ireland **no more than they had changed.** They all believed that **Ireland's destiny was to be a free land under a free sky, but they were all agreed—the revolutionist of the past and the constitutionalist of to-day—that it was the function of practical and sane Irish patriots to utilise whatever instrument God and progress had given them to forge their way to Irish freedom.**"
—*Freeman's Journal*, September 6.

To this may usefully be added the following extract from Mr. Redmond's speech at Waterford:—

"The generation with which Captain O'Meagher Condon had worked had almost entirely passed away, but the presence of the

young men of Waterford there that night meant that they upheld the same principles as the men who had associated with Captain O' Meagher Condon in working for the freedom of Ireland. It showed that every man in the crowd knew the history of the Manchester rescue, and treasured in his heart of hearts the real meaning of the prayer in the dock, 'God Save Ireland.'—*Freeman's Journal*, September 9.

The question naturally arises, what was the "real meaning"—"the same principles" to which Mr. Redmond referred. An address presented by the Ancient Order of Hibernians is more explicit. It says:—

"Thanks to the movement inaugurated by Davitt, Parnell, and Biggar, and carried forward on the same lines and for the same ideals to-day by Redmond, Dillon, Devlin, and their colleagues, **Ireland is marching steadfastly towards the goal of her freedom.** It is with gratitude and a glorious pride that we notice the loyal support that has been given to the National Movement by our kinsmen in America. The reception tendered to you last night on your arrival was the expression of Ireland's gratitude for past services, as well as an indication of the buoyant hopes we entertain for the speedy realisation of the patriot's dream. In you, O' Meagher Condon, we recognise one of those connecting links with the past, which all nations cherish, and you are ready to-day with voice and pen to give your unflinching support to Ireland's leaders with as much enthusiasm as you grasped the sword to lead Ireland in the dark but historic '67. We are sure it will interest you to know that **the ranks of Hibernians to-day are composed of the men and children of those who swore allegiance to the Irish Republic with you.**"—*Freeman's Journal*, September 6.

These extracts are placed together to give an idea of the goal towards which the Irish Home Rule movement is still moving. It is not to be expected that Mr. Redmond on English platforms pleading the cause of Home Rule will readily admit it; but the real Mr. Redmond and the real meaning of Home Rule cannot be concealed from the electors if the evidence given in this article is placed before them.

IRISH DIARY.

September 27.—Irish-American delegates at Glasgow.

October 3.—Mr. J. Devlin, M.P., at Battersea.

October 5.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Irish Land Bill. Committee.

October 6.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Irish Land Bill. Committee.

October 7.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Irish Land Bill. Committee.

Mr. J. Redmond issued manifesto to President of the United Irish League in America on Home Rule.

October 8.—Mr. Birrell, M.P., at Bristol, on Irish affairs.

Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P., at National Liberal Club: Reference to Ireland.

October 12.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Irish Land Bill. Committee.

Mr. J. Redmond at Ashton-under-Lyne.

October 13.—Mr. J. Redmond at Barrow-in-Furness.

October 14.—Mr. J. Redmond at Cleator Moor.

October 14.—Irish-American delegates leave for America.

October 15.—Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., at Dublin, on Liberals and Home Rule.

October 15.—Messrs. J. Devlin, M.P., and S. Gwynn, M.P., at Galway.

October 16.—Mr. T. P. O'Connor departed for America.

October 17.—Mr. J. Devlin, M.P., at Roundstone.

October 19.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Irish Land Bill. Report Stage.

October 20.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Irish Land Bill. Report Stage: Concluded.

October 21.—Mr. W. Long, at Liverpool, on Home Rule.

Arrival of Mr. T. P. O'Connor in New York.

October 25.—HOUSE OF LORDS.—Irish Land Bill. Third Reading.

IRISH FACTS.

DECEMBER, 1909.

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IRISH FACTS.

Vol. 3.—No. 11.]

DECEMBER, 1909.

CURRENT NOTES.

Mr. Redmond's Telegram.

The following cablegram has been sent to Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., care of Mr. John O'Callaghan, secretary of the United Irish League, Boston, U.S.A., by Mr. John Redmond, M.P., Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary party:—

"The die is cast. The greatest constitutional struggle in England for upwards of 200 years has commenced. No such opportunity has been offered to Ireland to strike for liberty since Grattan moved the Declaration of Independence. Accept our heartiest congratulations on the splendid success of your mission so far, and convey to our countrymen and friends in America our deepest gratitude for their abounding sympathy and aid, and the assurance that, if Irish Nationalists abroad and at home act unitedly in this supreme hour, a glorious victory is assured.

"JOHN REDMOND."

No Home Rule.

At the National Union Conference, the delegates recorded their unalterable determination to oppose Home Rule, and the destruction of the present Constitution of the United Kingdom. Unanimously and with acclamation they passed the following resolution:—

"This conference desires to express its determined and unabated hostility to any legislative proposals which may tend to the eventual granting of Home Rule, or which are calculated to weaken the Imperial tie between Great Britain and Ireland. It does so with the more emphasis in view of the fact that the leader of the Nationalist party in Ireland has recently declared that, however different may be their methods, the principles of the party are the same as those of the Fenian rebels of 1867."

Vanishing Confidence.

Said Mr. Redmond in Dublin, on November 17:—

"We must have an official declaration from the Liberal leaders on the Home Rule question. Home Rule must be one of the issues. . . . If we don't get that declaration, then I say our hands are

perfectly free to take what course we think best in the interest of Ireland.”—*Freeman's Journal*, November 18.

Why this tone of uncertainty? Does it mean that the bargain has not yet been signed and sealed? Or is it just a little by-play to make Mr. Asquith's pronouncement more of a success?

These questions are asked because of the inconsistency of Mr. Redmond's Home Rule utterances. Now they are all “ifs,” and through them runs an under-current of indecision. But a year ago, and Mr. Redmond was speaking of Home Rule as a question at the General Election with a positiveness that admitted of no question. In October, 1908, at Boston, U.S.A., Mr. Redmond is reported by the *Irish Independent* (October 5, 1908) to have declared that:—

“Mr. Asquith is pledged publicly and privately to make full Home Rule one of the living issues to be put before the electors at the next General Election.”

What has become of Mr. Asquith's “public” and “private” pledges that Mr. Redmond now speaks as if the bargain had not been clinched.

Again, who has forgotten the incidents of the North-West Manchester election? Did not Mr. Winston Churchill declare:—

“With the full concurrence and approval of the Prime Minister, that at the end of the present Parliament, the Liberal party should claim full authority and a free hand to deal with the problem of Irish self-government without being restricted to some measure of administration and devolution of the character of the Irish Council Bill?”

And Mr. Redmond telegraph in reply:—

“Having carefully considered Mr. Churchill's speech on Home Rule, we are of opinion that the object we have had in view has been substantially gained, as we have elicited a declaration on the authority of the Prime Minister that Home Rule in the sense of Mr. Redmond's resolution will be put before the electors at the General Election. . . We call on the Irish Nationalists to vote for him.”

What has happened to make these words of no effect? Can it be that Mr. Redmond has been badly had? That he has now found how much Mr. Winston Churchill's promises for Mr. Asquith are worth? Or is it just pretence to make out that the promise is not yet forthcoming, when all the time the compact is completed?

The Barrier against Revolution.

Responsible electors will not fail to notice that every destructive and revolutionary party in the country is allying itself with the Liberals for a campaign against the House of Lords. That body they believe to stand between them and the realisation of their aims. They willingly work for its destruction. The Budget counts nothing. Destroy the House of Lords, and Socialism will be the easier, say the Socialists. Mr. Redmond joins the motley crowd who would destroy the Constitution. He describes them as “the traditional enemies of Ireland,” and in Dublin, on November 17, he rejoiced, for he said:—

“What we have been working and praying for for 30 years has arrived, namely, a real opportunity of striking a deadly blow

at the power of the House of Lords to kill Irish remedial legislation. I hope with all my heart that we may be enabled to join fully and heartily in that fight against the power of the House of Lords."—*Freeman's Journal*, November 18.

Electors have no excuse for not knowing that much more hangs upon the General Election than the fate of the Budget. It is the Constitution, and the integrity of the United Kingdom.

Money Wanted.

At a Nationalist meeting at Ballyshannon, on November 1, a letter was read from the Bishop of Raphoe, appealing for more financial support for the party. He wrote:—

"The near approach of the General Election suggests to me to say that I do not think the subscriptions to the Parliamentary Fund throughout Ireland for some time past are at all equal to the occasion."—*Freeman's Journal*, November 2.

There is no doubt about it. The decline in subscriptions is not only a serious matter for the party: but is uncontrovertible evidence of the want of popular support for their policy. It is no use alleging that the money cannot be spared. It was given in years gone by, when Ireland was poorer. But now she has become richer, and the subscriptions are falling off!

With what result? The Bishop of Raphoe indicates it in the following words. He says:—

"We must not lean too heavily on ever-generous America and Australia."

That is the whole point: the Nationalist party is becoming a party maintained, not by Irish Nationalists, but by organisations in America and Australia. It represents not the Irish people, but a number of persons outside Ireland. Yet it claims to be the National party of Ireland.

"Warning! Warning!"

The methods of controversy adopted in Nationalist Ireland were abundantly disclosed during the hearing of a compensation case at Ennis. Counsel read a letter headed "Warning! Warning!" The applicant—Mrs. Kenny, a widow—was cautioned that if she "gave her horse to Hunt to plough Inchiquin, she would meet with something worse than Waters." Waters was a man whose machine was damaged. The letter continued:—

"And remember, if you disobey our Society, you will meet with Captain Moonlight, and he will give you a good riddling. Let your son look out for himself, and not mind Hunt or Inchiquin farm, and let him bear in mind only for the way he travelled to Ennis on the day of the compensation, he would not be such a valuable witness for Hunt, and his fist grazed; he would get a dose of lead he would remember as long as he would live, and only for your son in America and in compliment to him he would have met it long before."

Clerical Incitement.

At a meeting of the East Clare Executive of the United Irish League, held at Ennis on November 1, the Rev. Father Garry said:—

"It was really a monstrous thing that individuals like Lord

Inchiquin and Lord Dunboyne could upset the views of a whole country and the work of the party in Parliament. During the coming winter they ought to be prepared to try and not to make things happy for those people. . .

"They ought to make things unhappy for these people. There was little good in cheering, they should give practical proof of the faith that was in them."—*Clare Journal*, November 4.

Irish Land Bill.

The Irish Land Bill has become law after prolonged negotiations. Whether in its amended form it will sufficiently meet the Nationalist claims as to stop the threatened campaign, time alone will prove. Briefly the two important concessions by the Government are an increase from £5 to £7 in the rateable value of holdings before the estate becomes "congested;" and the abandonment of the elective principle on the new Congested Districts Board. On the question of the tribunal to decide appeals as to the price of land compulsorily acquired by the Estates Commissioners to relieve congestion Mr. Birrell declined to budge. The House of Lords desired a court composed of the two King's Bench judges and the Judicial Commissioner. The Bill gave the task to the Judicial Commissioner of the Land Commission. Rather than allow the Bill to be lost, the House of Lords gave way on the point.

There are many other changes, but until the Act is printed it is not easy to compare the Bill as introduced to the House of Lords and the clauses of the measure in their final edition.

We hope, however, next month to be able to issue a detailed comparison.

The "Winter Campaign."

It would seem, however, that notwithstanding the passing of the Irish Land Bill, a winter campaign of outrage is to be carried out. *The Times* (November 30), reports the following speeches by Irish Nationalist M.P.'s:—

"Mr. Laurence Ginnell, M.P., who spoke at Rathowen, Westmeath, outlined a new plan for breaking up the 'ranches.' Referring to the defects of the new Land Act, he said that the Unionists had helped the Nationalists in the debates in the House of Commons, but the sympathetic Liberals had voted them down. It had never been intended that the Act should do any good, and the people should return to the old methods. If the landlords did not sell to their rack-rented tenants at a fair price, their plan for the present was to pay no more rent, but to lodge it in the hands of private trustees less the reductions which purchase at a fair price would have given them. If the landlord refused to sell at that price, the money could be used for fighting purposes. As to the ranchers, who had been tolerated too long, the cattle at a given signal should be hunted off the grazing lands for miles in a single night. The next morning, while the police were searching for the animals, 20 or 30 ploughs could be brought into the grazing land and broad belts of sod turned over here and there. This would put an end to ranching. No crime would have been done, no blood would have been spilt, nothing but a trespass would have been committed, for which the owner could sue at quarter sessions

if he liked, but he would probably prefer to sell the land at once for distribution. The plough and the hazel, blessed instruments of old, would be doubly blessed by posterity if they were now successfully used to release Ireland from the landlords and grabbers.

"At a meeting in Claremorris, South Mayo, Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., said that whatever Government came back to power after January the land fight would be continued and they would compel that Government to restore every clause in the Land Bill which had been rejected by the Lords. At the coming elections they would ask Mr. Asquith if he would put Home Rule in the forefront. If he did not they were free as to the exercise of the Irish vote in English constituencies, and they would teach the Government that they could not blow hot and cold with a sacred cause.

"Mr. Conor O'Kelly, M.P., said every branch of the League should send delegates to the executive, where they would consider plans for the winter campaign, and if the fairies were seen around Castlemagarret and went away with Lord Oranmore's gates the people would not be blamed.

"Mr. Denis Johnston, the representative of the National Directory of the League, said that the people should put a ring of fire round every land-grabber and grazier in the county and tell them to quit.

"Mr. Stephen Gwynn, M.P., speaking at Charleville, near Tullamore, said whether Mr. Birrell had got from the Lords all the concessions that he might he could not say, but they all thought that he might have gone farther than he did go. They did not promise peace as the price of that Bill; they promised war.

"Mr. David Sheehy, M.P., who addressed a meeting at Kill, in the County Meath, said it was now for the people themselves to employ compulsion as the House of Lords had refused to legalize it."

Lord Oranmore Threatened.

The spirit that is abroad in Nationalist Ireland is well shown by the speeches delivered at Claremorris, on November 10, at a meeting of the South Mayo Executive of the United Irish League. Lord Oranmore was the object of the threats.

Mr. Conor O'Kelly, M.P., is reported by the *Irish Times* (November 11) to have said that "they would make things hot for Lord Oranmore and the other opponents of the Bill" (i.e., the Irish Land Bill).

To Mr. Thomas Heregthy were the honours of the meeting. He is reported as saying that :—

"They would array all their forces this winter against landlordism. It was the Fenian movement that compelled the British Government to give any concessions to Ireland, and not constitutional agitation. By a strong agitation they would drive Lord Oranmore from Castlemagarrett as they drove Boycott from Loughmask. He would not pay much attention to people who said it was the devil's work to drive the cattle off the farms. It was no crime to drive cattle, and he regretted that dignitaries of the Church said it was. He would rather drive the villainous landlords and graziers

out of the country than the cattle off the farms, and he would consider it no sin. He hoped this winter's organisation would clear out bag and baggage every landlord from the country.

"It was decided to hold a public demonstration in Claremorris on the 28th November."—*Irish Times*, November 11.

Birrell's Burden.

The *Dublin Daily Express* (November 18) reports that at a meeting of the Galway County Council, on November 17, the Chairman announced that they had to pay a bill of £26,000 for extra police, and that they had not 26,000 farthings to meet it.

The *Connacht Champion* (October 22) reports that a meeting was held at Athenry for the purpose of protesting against the proposed tax of 7d. in the £ for extra police.

The *Dublin Daily Express* (October 28) reports that the demand on the Roscommon County Council for extra police during the half-year ended September 30, is £14,000. Grants in aid of local taxation to the amount of £3,800 have been stopped to pay for the cost of extra police in previous years.

An Illuminating Discussion.

The following report from the *Belfast News Letter*, of November 8, affords a useful insight into Irish Nationalist feeling towards persons British:—

"At a meeting of the Tobercurry (County Mayo) Rural Council a long discussion took place on a report furnished by a rent collector that one of the Council's tenants, a man named Leheny, had given lodging accommodation to a 'sapper' who is engaged in making a survey of the district. It is stated that a number of the Royal Engineers who have been engaged in this work have been refused lodgings in the district.

"Mr. Anderson, one of the members of the Council, said he would prefer that Irishmen, and not English soldiers, should occupy the Council's cottages.

"The Clerk: I think the District Council are under no obligation to provide cottages for sappers.

"Mr. Anderson: They were built for Irishmen, and it is Irishmen who should live in them.

"Mr. M'Manus observed that plenty of Irishmen were sappers, and a member retorted that there was always an Irishman who was a traitor.

"Several members suggested proceedings against the tenant.

"The rent collector mentioned that when he wrote to the tenant to 'have the soldier cleared out before the next meeting of the Council,' Leheny replied: 'The poor man is looking for a house and can get none, and I thought it was no harm to let him in for a few weeks.'

"Mr. Henry: Make an order to have him cleared out, and if he has not left before this day week we will prosecute Leheny.

"An order to this effect was made."

A Seditious Poster.

The *Irish Times* (October 26) reports that on October 23 the walls of Drogheda and the surrounding districts were extensively posted with the following placard:—

“Renegades to Ireland! You who would don England’s red coat for a miserable mess of pottage. Oh! The horror! You, sons of Drogheda, who would enlist, the blood of your murdered ancestors, the butchered babe, the butchered maiden, cry to heaven for vengeance on your miserable heads. Remember, once you swear to fight for England you are units of an Army whose history is one of murder. Death is far more preferable than one instant’s service in the Army. England wants Irishmen to save her tottering Empire. Answer that appeal by a vow to rescue Ireland from her hateful grasp. Remember the rivers of blood that flowed through the streets of your town of Drogheda. Remember Mullaghmast and Island Magee. These atrocities were perpetrated by the very same Army into which you enlist. Can the leopard change his spots? The Concentration Camp of South Africa and the Massacre of Omdurman prove he cannot. Young men of Drogheda, shun the recruiting sergeant; shun the khaki warrior home on furlough; shun the Navy man; shun the policeman, and remember the dead who died for Ireland.”

U.I.L. Crown Prosecutor.

From the *Midland Reporter* (November 11):—

“At the present moment the Crown Prosecutor listed for all Munster at the Cork Winter Assizes is Mr. George MacSweeney, a member of the Standing Committee of the United Irish League. There was no resolution passed condemning him as Ginnell was condemned. Ginnell’s policy was driven off the field, but the MacSweeney policy is allowed to hold the field without a word of protest.”

A League Black List.

From the *Roscommon Herald* (November 13):—

Ballyrush Branch (Co. Sligo).

“It was decided to hold a collection in aid of the Parliamentary Fund at both Masses on Sunday, November 28, when a generous response is expected from the people of Ballyrush. It was also agreed to publish the names of those who subscribe in each townland, and also all absentees.”

Apologies to the U.I.L.

From the *Roscommon Herald* (November 13):—

Keadue Branch.

“A meeting of this Branch was held on Sunday, November 7. Mr. J. Rewane, Vice-president, presided. A full muster of the Committee was present.

“Thomas Rorke came before the meeting and gave an under-

taking that neither himself nor his son would ever do a turn of work again for anyone who would violate the rules of the United Irish League, and on those grounds himself and his son were exonerated from all blame in future.

"Pat Noone came before the meeting and said he would have nothing to do with "obtionables" in future, and that he was sorry for what he did. He was acquitted of all blame.

"John Conlon, senr., Cullard, is to attend our next meeting; also Patrick Tansey, Stonepark. We ask the public, in the interests of the Land Bill, not to interfere with the objectionable ranch at Keadue. We want this ranch to be divided among the young men whose forefathers were evicted from it. James Regan, Keadue, undertook not to employ objectionable labour in future."

Irish Home Rule Unity.

The re-establishment of the Mid-Cork Executive of the U.I.L. at Macroom on Saturday was marked by an extraordinary scene, in consequence of which the meeting had to be adjourned to a neighbouring hotel, and consequently the organiser, Mr. D. Johnston, had to leave in a covered car amidst the vigorous booing of a large crowd, and drive to a station five miles away in order to avoid a hostile demonstration at the local railway station.

The Town Hall was engaged for the meeting, and admission was regulated by ticket. When Mr. D. D. Sheehan, M.P., the member for the division, arrived in the morning and announced his intention of demanding admission to the meeting with the object of expressing his views in relation to the refusal of the National Directory to accept affiliation fees from some local branches of the League, some scenes were anticipated.

About three o'clock, when Mr. Johnston, Very Rev. Canon O'Mahony, P.P., Kilmurry, and the Very Rev. Canon Murphy, D.D., Macroom, made their appearance from the Victoria Hotel, loud cheers were given by the crowd who had gathered for Mr. Sheehan. When the two rev. gentlemen, Mr. Johnston, and some others proceeded to pass up the steps to the hall there were loud shouts of "Down with the Molly Maguires," and a rush was made by the crowd with the intention of gaining admission to the hall.

The stewards who were examining the credentials of those who passed in attempted to stop the rush. The police also intervened, but their efforts proved futile. In less than three minutes close on 50 of Mr. Sheehan's supporters reached the door, and they had then very little difficulty in entering the Town Hall, followed closely by Mr. Sheehan himself.

Canon Murphy and Canon O'Mahoney conversed for a few moments with Mr. Johnston in the confusion that followed, and then returned, amidst the derisive cheers of Mr. Sheehan's followers, to the hotel, where they held a meeting over which Canon Murphy presided.

At the termination of the proceedings in the hotel, Mr. Johnston entered a covered car which was in readiness, apparently dreading a repetition of the booing at the Macroom Railway Station, and, amidst the vigorous booing of a crowd, drove to Doniskey station, five miles further, and there joined the train for Cork.—*Irish Independent*, November 15.

LIFE IN IRELAND.

A Diary of Outrages, etc., under Radical Rule.

"Ireland is quiet now."—Mr. Birrell, House of Commons, July 21

"Where is the crime and terrorism in Ireland? . . . The country is in a state of absolute tranquility and peace."—Mr. Redmond, Arklow, July 4.

October 25—Co. Galway.—Twelve persons from Castlegar were arrested and charged before a special court at that place for cattle-driving off two farms in the district. The defendants were bound over.—*Galway Observer*, October 30.

October 26—Co. Meath.—At the Quarter Sessions held at Kells, Michael M'Grath of Grennan applied for £20 compensation for the burning of a thatched barn. A threatening letter received by the applicant was read; also the following letter:—

"Dear Mick,—I would advise you to be very cautious about going out at night, at least for a time, as there is an eye on you. The rifle party will not rest till they do you some terrible—, kill you if possible; so I think it only right to warn you, and the very people you kept from dying with hunger are the worst against you. Mind, there will be some plan made to get at you. From a dear friend that you helped in times of need as well as those that are opposed to you. I hope God will punish them for their wickedness. I may tell you, you should carry arms."

The case was held over for the production of other evidence.—*Dublin Daily Express*, October 27.

October 27—Co. Leitrim.—In the early hours of the morning a force of police over 100 strong visited Ballinagleragh District, Dowra, and seized live-stock of the Peyton tenantry for rent arrears due under the High Court orders. The tenants had entered into a no-rent campaign for some years past, and proceedings were taken in the King's Bench. Some of them owed for seven years' rent, and the raid took them by surprise. The district is greatly excited, and meetings are being held to condemn the action of certain car-owners who accommodated the police.—*Freeman's Journal*, October 28.

October 30—Co. Clare.—A daring shooting outrage occurred at a place called Lismuingo in the Ruan district. About 6.30 in the evening four gun-shots were fired from behind a hedge a short distance from the road-side at two farmers named John and Dan Murphy. They were returning from Ennis market. Both received wounds in the head, neck, and shoulders. John Murphy was fired at earlier in the year in the same district, and was severely wounded on that occasion. The outrage is attributed to the fact that Murphy still retains a portion of the Lineen

farm which had been surrendered by former occupants owing to local agitation to have it divided among uneconomic holdings of the district.—*Freeman's Journal*, November 2.

November 1—Co. Galway.—An extensive cattle-drive took place in the neighbourhood of Galway. On this occasion Ballybrit farm was raided and about 90 head of cattle and 250 sheep, the property of Mr. Michael Costello, were cleared off the farm and driven into the town. Eight men were afterwards arrested in connection with this drive, and brought before the resident magistrate. The whole of the defendants were admitted to bail.—*Freeman's Journal*, November 2.

November 1—Co. Roscommon.—Tonlagree farm is still under close police protection. A telegraph boy from the local post-office cycled out to the farm to deliver a telegram, when he was met on the road by several parties, who cautioned him not to go back there again.—*Dublin Daily Express*, November 3.

November 4—Co. Roscommon.—A correspondent of the *Irish Times* reports that a few days ago a couple of engineers from the Estates Commissioners have been engaged in splitting up the property belonging to Captain Goff at Ballinderry. Altogether about 500 acres have been divided. In the allocation some trouble arose. Tenants outside the property have for years been in the habit of cutting turf on the estate. Several hundreds of them attended at the splitting up, and protested against what they considered was an interference of their rights. The engineers refused to entertain their claims, and the police present had to drive the crowd back. There is considerable excitement in the district.

November 4—Co. Tipperary.—At Tipperary Quarter Sessions, Judge Moore awarded £40 compensation to Adam Hodgins, Ballydonnel, for a brood mare which died from a shocking injury which had been inflicted upon it at night in a field.—*Irish Times*, November 5.

November 11—King's Co.—An extensive cattle-drive took place in the Shinrone district during the night. Twenty-five head of cattle were driven a distance of several miles. The farm from which they were driven was the scene of a couple of drives within the past two years.—*Dublin Daily Express*, November 13.

November 14—Co. Galway.—A police-constable named Marshall was fired at and wounded while on protection duty on an evicted farm by some unknown person.—*Irish Times*, November 16.

November 15—Co. Tipperary.—In the King's Bench Division, Dublin, application was made for an order to change the venue in the case in which James Heffernan was at present awaiting trial on an indictment for conspiracy to intimidate Neville Clarke, of Holycross, Thurles (see IRISH FACTS, June 12). An order was made in the terms asked for.—*Dublin Daily Express*, November 16.

November 15—Co. Galway.—The police in Galway were informed that a lad named Moran, aged 16 years, was fired at while he was on his way home the previous night. It appears that Moran's father is a herd on the Tyrone estate near Clarenbridge. For some time past there have been

disturbances on the estate, and in one case a man named Conlon was fired at while on his way home from Galway races. Three shots were fired at the lad, one of which took effect in his back, and his condition is dangerous. There are three herds on the estate, and they are all under police protection.—*Irish Times*, November 16.

November 18—Co. Tipperary.—A big cattle drive took place from the lands of Mr. J. F. Lloyd at Hillough near Templemore. This is the third drive that has taken place on this estate. The police afterwards recovered the animals, but so daring were the cattle drivers, that after the cattle were brought back, they again drove them off.—*Dublin Daily Express*, November 19.

November 19—Co. Tipperary.—A correspondent of the *Irish Times* reports that a few nights ago, 25 head of cattle, the property of Mr. Henry Briscoe Kenny, Ballingarry, Shinrone, were driven from his lands.

November 20—Co. Clare.—A correspondent of the *Irish Times* reports that a shooting outrage occurred at Rougham near Corofin a couple of nights ago, where the house of a farmer named Patrick Fogarty was fired into. Ten or 12 shots from guns and revolvers were discharged through the windows in the front of the dwelling, the glass being shattered. At the time, Fogarty and his family were in the kitchen into which some of the bullets passed, but no one was injured. The outrage is attributed to the fact that Fogarty holds a grazing farm at Rougham where he had been formerly a herd.—*Irish Times*, November 20.

November 23—Co. Galway.—At a special court held at Galway, James Delaney, a Rural District Councillor, residing at Castlegar, was charged with having circulated a printed hand-bill which stated: "Notice, We call upon all country and town people not to purchase any meat from (name given) until he gives up his grazing farms. Leave (four names given), and all graziers and grabbers severely alone. They are robbing and are ruining the poor. If they are kept here people must clear out—Patrick Casserley, Michael Casserley, Ballindooley, God save Ireland." The accused was remanded to bail.—*Irish Times*, November 24.

November 23—Co. Galway.—At the same court a man named Michael Mulroan was charged with having on November 22 besmeared two head of cattle with paint, and with cutting the hair off their tails. The cattle are the property of Patrick Casserley, of Ballindooley near Galway, and were grazing on a common at a place called Frenchfort. The accused was remanded, bail being refused on the advice of the district inspector of police.—*Irish Times*, November 24.

IRELAND, THE BUDGET, AND THE PARTY.

THE Irish Home Rule party, being disinclined to break with their friends, the Liberal Government, and not being able to support the Budget outright, endeavoured to satisfy all parties by refraining from voting on the Third Reading of the Finance Bill.

Like all politicians who have not the courage of their convictions, their inaction has done them no good. There is evidence that those who usually support them are disgusted at so outward an exhibition of passive acquiescence in the policy of the Liberal party.

Mr. Redmond and his followers are now excusing themselves by declaring that the Budget really affects Ireland scarcely at all; that Ireland has gained so much from the Liberal Government that the Budget burden is a mere nothing. If this were true, then why did they not support it? Apparently they do not see that the fact of staying away from the division is a contradiction of all their praises now.

In *Sinn Féin* for November 19 there is a detailed calculation of the Budget burdens on Ireland. For convenience of reference we reproduce it here :—

BREWING.

(Reference—Page 81 of the Budget.)

“ The Bill provides that every brewer must pay an additional duty of £1 for the first hundred barrels brewed and twelve shillings for every further 50 or fraction of 50 barrels brewed.

“ The number of barrels brewed in Ireland last year was 3,351,326 (three millions three hundred and fifty-one thousand three hundred and twenty-six), a number below the average for the two preceding years. (Reference, page 14 Inland Revenue Return.) The additional duty imposed on Ireland by the tax is therefore—in round figures **£41,000.**

TOBACCO.

“ The additional duties on tobacco manufactured and unmanufactured are given on pages 91 and 92 of the Finance Bill. The total receipt from the tobacco tax last year in England, Ireland, and Scotland was £13,824,000 (thirteen millions eight hundred and twenty-four thousand pounds). (Reference, Revenue and Expenditure Return 1909, page 3.) Of this amount Ireland contributed £1,309,000 (one million three hundred and nine thousand pounds), or 19-180ths. The total amount of additional duty imposed by the Budget on tobacco is, in round figures, £1,900,000 (one million nine hundred thousand pounds). Of this sum, Ireland's share is **£200,550.**

DISTILLING.

"An additional duty of 3s. 9d. per gallon is imposed by the Budget on 'every gallon computed at proof of spirits of any description, except perfumed spirits.' (Reference, Finance Act, page 90.) The number of gallons of spirit distilled in Ireland last year, and on which duty was paid, was 7,126,833 (seven million one hundred and twenty-six thousand eight hundred and thirty-three)—the lowest amount duty-paid in Ireland since 1898. (Reference, Inland Revenue Return, page 21.) The additional duty imposed by the Budget increases the amount to be paid by the Irish distillers to the English Treasury by **£1,336,300.**

LICENCES.

"The increased licence duties on manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers of spirits, beer, wine, and sweets are set out in the Finance Bill, pages 80 to 90. The receipt from excise licences last year in Ireland was £214,156 (two hundred and fourteen thousand one hundred and fifty-six pounds). Some alterations and abatements have been introduced in the case of Ireland in connection with these licences since the Bill was issued, and it is therefore not possible to calculate exactly the additional amount the Budget imposes. We therefore accept for the present the figures given by Mr. Redmond's statistician of the additional amount imposed by the tax on Ireland (one hundred and seventy-two thousand pounds)—**£172,000.**

"We do not wish to weary our readers with figures—we are writing to be understood not only by the man of accounts, but by the man in the street. We therefore shall not go into the figures of the added taxation that will be imposed on Ireland by the following taxes:—

NEW TAXES.

"Motor and Motor Spirit Duties.

"Undeveloped Land Duties.

"Increment Value Duties.

"Mineral Rights Duties.

"Reversion Duties.

INCREASED TAXES.

"Death Duties.

"Legacy Duties.

"Stamp Duties.

"In all, the Budget imposes five new taxes on Ireland and increases seven existing taxes. The total yield from these taxes to the English Exchequer if Irish production and trade stand in 1910 as they did in the preceding years must be as follows:—

	£
Spirits	1,336,300
Beer	41,000
Tobacco	200,500
Licences	172,000
Other new and increased taxes, say, ..	500,000

"In all, in round figures £2,250,000 (two million and a quarter pounds sterling), or over ten shillings per head of the population."

The Budget and the Farmer.

Lord Mayo in the *Freeman's Journal* (November 15) deals in an exhaustive manner with the effect of the Budget on Irish farmers. He deals first with the Stamp Duties, that is to say, the duty payable in form of a stamp on the transfer or sale of any property except stocks and shares.

Many farmers, no doubt, he says, have never realised what a Stamp Duty is. He takes a simple instance. An agreement between parties of an ordinary kind, if signed by both parties, and then taken to the Custom House, Dublin, and stamped with a sixpenny stamp, makes that agreement binding in the eyes of the law. He then proceeds to show what the present and proposed Stamp Duties are : they are set forth in the following table :—

	Present duty.	Proposed duty.
Conveyance or transfer on sale of any property (except Stocks or marketable securities) ..	10s. (per cent.)	20s. (per cent.)
Conveyances or transfers by voluntary disposition	10s. (fixed duty)	20s. (per cent.)
Leases of dwelling house for term not exceeding one year at rent not exceeding £10 per annum	1d.	1d.
Other Leases. The Stamp Duty varies according to the rent and the period of the lease. It amounts, roughly, to 10s. per cent. on the yearly rental for not exceeding 35 years ; £3 per cent. for not exceeding 100 years ; and £6 per cent. exceeding 100 years ..		Double.

He instances a concrete example of the effect of the increased Stamp Duties. A farmer gives a farm to his son on getting married. This is quite a common occurrence in Ireland. The duty on conveyance of the said farm is, under this Bill, doubled.

Before dealing with the Death Duties, he points out that those who will, as successors of a deceased farmer, pay those Death Duties, in almost every case will have never realised what these Duties mean, as they would have had no previous knowledge or experience of what former Death Duties were under former Acts. These Duties come at a time when sorrow and tears pervade the home, they are insidious, far-reaching, and unfair. Further, it must be remembered that at such a time the family of the dead man are generally ill-prepared to meet heavy demands for Duty, and that such demands will frequently entail the immediate sale of cattle, or other stock, at a time when, perhaps, that stock is least ready for market, and that if they are unable to meet the demands for Duties, they may have to hand over a portion of their land to the Revenue Commission to pay their liability under this new Bill. One cannot conceive anything more outrageous than such a Bill, casting such liability upon a tenant, in such a manner that he might be obliged to hand over part of his little holding in discharge of the Duty on it, perhaps reducing it thereby to the level of a congested holding !

It must be remembered that under Clause 26 of the Bill a fresh valuation must be taken of the whole of the land of Ireland. The

Irish farmer will carefully note the following statement : Every purchasing tenant whose total assets (no allowance being made for debts, money, stock, furniture, land crops), and which assets, as determined by these valuers' estimates come to the sum of £500 and over, will have to pay (1) on a competitive value for his land, (2) on the capitalised value of the purchase annuity, and in many cases where the value, as determined by the valuer, is over £1,000, he has to pay on an increased scale of duty.

In reference to No. 1, Lord Mayo observes that it will be most unjust, and even extortionate, to charge the tenant duty on the competitive value of his farm. In bygone times, when he paid rent, it was always held that such rent should not be calculated on the competitive value of his farm, which would largely have increased that rent. And he says he fails to see any justice in now extorting from the Irish farmer, a duty calculated on the inflated price, which might be obtained for his holding in the open market, for that is what "competitive value" means.

The general revaluation of the whole land of Ireland is prescribed by Clause 26, and the cost of same would be enormous. But the special point touching the Irish farmer is the number of searching questions which he will be obliged to answer, under a heavy penalty, which may rise to £50. Under the dread of this penalty he will have to make a return of the following matters :—His ownership of the farm which he has bought, its area, character, and use ; the money or other things, paid or given, on any previous sale or lease of the land. Any rent which he may get for any portion of his land which he may have let, and other things, even if connected with his private dealings, which the Commissioners may require, to enable them to arrive at the competitive value of his farm, even including any moneys he may have got for grazing, con-acre, or meadowing. He gives as an instance the case of an industrious, hard-working man, who has accumulated a little capital, and invested it in the purchase of some land on which there are some tenants. He will be called upon to furnish to the Commissioners a return giving full information as to rent received by him, how he holds the land, its size, its character, its use, and any money given on any previous sale or lease of the land—a most inquisitorial proceeding, and he must do this under a penalty, not exceeding £50. This will be found set forth in Clause 26 of the Bill.

With reference to Legacy Duty, which is dealt with in Clause 58 of the Bill, he takes the effect of this duty :—

If a man leaves a legacy to his brother or sister, the duty on that legacy is raised from the present rate of 3 per cent. to a duty of 5 per cent. There is no change in the past rate of duty if a father leaves a legacy to a son. This remains as it is under the existing law ; but if a man leaves a legacy to his uncle or aunt, it is raised from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. Any other relation, except those I have mentioned, is, under this Bill, treated as a stranger, and a legacy to them is charged at the rate of 10 per cent.

Objections Summarised.

Summarising the general result of the Budget and Finance Bill on Irish farmers, Lord Mayo says :—

1. A large body of farmers (who hitherto have paid nothing) will be subject to payment of Death Duties.
2. Many others will pay (1) on a much higher valuation, (2) on a higher scale of tax.

3. Many will lose the benefit of obtaining probate cheaply and quickly, as the high valuation will exclude their cases.

4. The benefits given by the State under the Land Acts and Land Purchase Acts will be taken away piecemeal by the Death Duties, which tax the farm on a basis of competitive value—i.e., a value considered unjust as a basis for rent.

5. These taxes are a special burden on Irish farms, as compared with English or Scotch, as the latter (1) are not owners, (2) have not a saleable interest in their farm.

6. The duty on transfers of land is doubled. Whether the duty falls on buyer or seller is immaterial; a farmer has to pay in all cases.

7. Every acre of land, every house and building in Ireland, has to be re-valued by Government officials for the purpose of arriving at the value or liability for these taxes, according to a most complex and artificial system, and, whether the Government pay for this valuation or not, farmers will have to employ experts, surveyors, valuers, and lawyers to protect their interests, or else will have to accept the decision of a Government official.

The Appeal to the Lords.

Even in the most unlikely places one finds strong feelings against the Budget, which move persons to take unprecedented action. The Kilkenny Working-men's Club has passed a resolution, appealing to Lord Ormonde, as an Irishman and a Kilkenny man, to vote against the Budget. From Mr. Tim Healy, M.P., to whom a copy of the resolution was sent, the Secretary of the Club has received a letter, in which Mr. Healy says:—

“I gladly acknowledge the resolution of the Kilkenny Working-men's Club, knowing how patriotic its members are, and trust its pronouncement will serve to convince those whom it concerns of the depth of feeling that exists in Ireland against the Budget. If it should encourage any Irish Peers to oppose the measure, great service to the country will result. No doubt, purists may criticise the action of a democratic club in appealing to the House of Lords, but would such persons object to call in the Constabulary if they were being robbed or garrotted? All parties in Ireland were glad, in 1906, when the House of Lords came in aid of religion in the schools in England, and why should not poor men, dependent on threatened industries in a poor country, rejoice if the Lords in 1909 reject the Budget? Antiquarian theories about the British Constitution have small charm for starving people. . . This Budget destroys Irish manufacture without helping the King's revenue. It levies toll off Irish tenant-right, created by the sweat and blood of our farmers, just when (after centuries of struggle) they were becoming the owners of their improvements. In England no corresponding interest exists among the farming class, and these new taxes are devised to suck from the Irish soil the hard won benefits of a dozen Land Acts. As for the imposts which immediately affect your city, the pretence that temperance will be aided (if revenue will not) should be scouted by every hater of cant. For what is the truth? This Budget actually favours the importation of cheap German spirit, and in homage to Free Trade, the ports are thrown open to

pestilential intoxicants. From sinful products made in Germany a Godly Government greedily draws revenue! You, indeed, may still get liberally drunk on Prussian blue, or the by-products of foreign yeast factories, but Irish and Scotch intoxicants made from native barley by native hands, have become a veritable "cup of trembling" for our teetotal tax-gatherers."

Local Opinion.

The Kilkenny Corporation unanimously adopted the resolution passed by the Working-men's Club, and also the resolution of the Edenderry Rural District Council, which called on the Irish Parliamentary Party for an explanation of their action, and protested against further taxation.

In proposing this resolution, Alderman Purcell said:—

"It seemed very strange that the members of the Irish party, who were reckoned to be Irishmen, should not have the courage to vote either for or against the Budget. They should not always be at the beck of the Liberal party, and they should throw off the cloak and let themselves be seen as either Liberals or Nationalists. They had skilfully hedged out of taking part in the Budget fight either one way or the other."—*Freeman's Journal*, November 11.

This resolution has been adopted by many other local bodies, predominantly Nationalist in complexion.

At Enniscorthy, the Board of Guardians, after passing a resolution in reference to the Budget, agreed to have a public meeting of protest, to be addressed by Mr. Tim Healy, M.P.

It is quite remarkable to find in all these discussions and resolutions the appeal that is made to the House of Lords to prevent the Budget becoming law. Evidently the House of Lords has its uses, even to an Irish Nationalist. But Mr. Redmond desires the destruction of the House of Lords, because it is a barrier to Home Rule, and describes it as "the most deadly enemy of Ireland."—(*Freeman*, November 18.)

Really, he and his party cannot have it both ways.

Turning to the local Nationalist press, the same spirit of criticism is apparent.

From the *Kilkenny People* (November 13):—

"The abstention of the Irish members from the division on the third reading of the Finance Bill upsets all our pre-conceived theories as to the duties the Nationalist party in the British House of Commons were expected to discharge. We had thought that, next to working for Home Rule, there was no claim which they should more insistently urge than the claim for the relief of the admittedly unjust and wholly iniquitous burthen of over-taxation imposed on this country, in defiance of the Act of Union, which guarantees to Ireland certain exemptions and abatements in the matter of taxation. It is a highly significant fact that since the present Government assumed office very little has been heard about the 'robbery of Ireland,' which was a 'trump card,' always sure of a 'trick,' when the Tories were in power, and when Liberals

and Nationalists joined in speech and vote in protesting against the forced tribute of three millions a year which Ireland has been so long paying over and above her just contribution to British Imperial taxation."

From the *Midland Reporter* (November 11):—

"On the great question of whether two millions were to be added to the taxation of Ireland by Mr. Lloyd George's Budget, the Irish party in Parliament refused to vote. There was a time when if a proceeding like that took place, Ireland would ring from one end to the other. But nowadays the people are content to take their extra taxation lying down. Mr. Lloyd George puts a burden of ten shillings a-head extra on every man, woman, and child in this country, and the men who represent us in Parliament will not vote against it. The people who are harried by Income Tax officials now know what to think. The farmer who goes to a lawyer about the sale or transfer of his land, or on the occasion of the death of a relative, will very soon know what to think. The publicans, who have seen their whiskey trade killed, and who will very soon have to pay their extra license duties, will also get some food for reflection. The man who uses a pipeful of tobacco has got a reminder already of what Mr. Lloyd George has done for him, and when it rested in the hands of the Irish party to turn out the treacherous Liberal Government responsible for this, they failed to do so."

From the *Irish Catholic* (November 20):—

"As regards those among our own representatives who have supported the Budget, we earnestly trust that a proper sense of shame will prevent them from again seeking the suffrages of their constituents. The Great Betrayal which they have perpetrated is sufficient to brand them for ever as unworthy of the confidence of Ireland. We can easily find representatives as capable—it will be strange if we cannot find better. We must have a strong and united Irish party in the House of Commons, but it need not always be composed of those whom Mr. Sexton used to style 'the insects,' nor need it be always at the beck and call of English secularists!"

From the *Connacht Champion* (November 20):—

"In the coming election the Irish vote will have an important influence, and it should not be given to the Liberals, as at the last General Election, without anything in return being unequivocally promised to Ireland. What have we got from the Liberals during their term of office? An Old Age Pensions Act that was passed more for the benefit of the workers of England than for Ireland; a Land Act that is now admittedly worthless, and a University Act which leaves Galway College in as bad a condition as ever it was in before. And in return for all this the Liberals would take from Ireland an extra two million pounds annually in taxation. We will be made to pay dearly for any concessions we obtain from the Liberals. We should see that we do not pay too much."

The Belfast Revolt.

The most significant news, however, comes from Belfast. Alderman John Byrne, a prominent member of the United Irish League, and a leading local politician, telegraphed to the *Unionist* candidate at Bermondsey as follows:—

“As an Irishman and Nationalist, I wish you every success. I hope you will defeat the rotten Radical rascals, who are about to ruin the country. There will soon be no work for the working-man, or perhaps we are to be all masters. Then there will be no one to sweep the deck! I read what was called the ‘great speech’ of Mr. Lloyd George at Newcastle last Saturday. In my opinion, it is nothing but bullying, bounce, and bluster—corner-boy talk and corner-boy tactics.”

Then the trouble began. The Executive Committee of the Belfast Branch of the United Irish League invited Alderman Byrne to attend, and explain his action.

He declined to do so. A request for his appearance was made. The Alderman declared that it was not his intention to come.

The Committee discussed the culprit’s misbehaviour in his absence. A motion was carried which proposed that a letter should be sent, apprising the Alderman of the Committee’s disapproval of his telegram.

Just as all was thought to be over, another Alderman—one MacMahon,—rose to his feet. The audience cheered, expecting denunciation of the errant one. Instead, Alderman MacMahon declared that he dissociated himself from the unwarrantable attack made upon his colleague.

He described the action of the Irish Parliamentary party as “dishonest.” He went on to say:—

“That the Irish party had betrayed the country in not attending and voting against the Finance Bill at every opportunity. He reminded the meeting that 64 members of Mr. Redmond’s party attended a meeting called for the purpose of expelling Mr. Maurice Healy from the party, but that the next day, when the Budget resolutions came up, proposing an addition of 3s. 9d. per gallon to the duty upon spirits, only 25 Irish-Nationalist members could be got to vote against them.”

Both these gentlemen are representatives of the licensed trade—and as the licensed trade in Belfast is a large supporter of the League, the position is a serious one from the financial standpoint.

Irish Nationalist M.P.’s, who endeavour to justify their position on the Budget, find hostility in unexpected places. Mr. Lardiner, M.P., visited Clones on November 7, and defended his action on the Budget. But the meeting was not all for him, as may be gathered from the following extracts from a speech by Dr. Tierney, the Chairman of the Clones Urban Council:—

“There was no person who admired Mr. Lardiner more than he did. He had supported him in the past, and he hoped to do so in the future. But he thought he was justified in saying that they were not satisfied with the conduct of the Irish party for the last few years. That might seem rather strong to some people, but let him ask what had the party done for the last few years? They

had sold themselves, body and bones, to the English Socialist party—nothing less. They had allowed the English Liberal party, or the representatives of the Socialist and democratic towns of England, to heap extra taxation on Ireland, and by their cowardly abstention from voting the other day, had allowed them a free hand in placing this extra taxation on this country. . .

“He had no hesitation in saying that if the Irish Parliamentary party did not oppose this unjust taxation, he, for one, would in future vote for an honest Unionist instead of a Nationalist.”—*Freeman's Journal*, November 9.

That Mr. Redmond recognises the danger of this movement is seen from his speech in Dublin on November 17. There he attacked the “cranks” who utter the “grotesque falsehood” that the Budget “means two millions a year additional taxation on Ireland.” He defended the Budget in terms which only differed in small details from a regular Budget League speech. He even showed how his views ran along the usual lines of Radical thought, by declaring that the real issue was the House of Lords. Whether this defence will go down with his Irish followers, it is difficult to say, but there is present, as the evidence above shows, a striking feeling of hostility against the lack of courage on the part of the Irish Parliamentary party.

IRISH DIARY.

October 29.—Lord Londonderry at West Hartlepool, on Home Rule.

November 1.—Mr. J. Devlin, M.P., and Mr. Swift MacNeill, M.P., at Ballyshannon.

November 5.—House of Commons.—Irish Land Bill. The Lords' amendments rejected; Bill returned to the House of Lords.

November 17.—House of Lords.—Irish Land Bill further considered and amendments returned to House of Commons.

November 17.—Annual Conference of National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations. Anti-Home Rule resolution passed.

November 17.—Mr. J. Redmond at Dublin.

November 19.—Rt. Hon. J. H. M. Campbell, K.C., M.P., at Lancaster, on Home Rule.

November 19.—Mr. J. Devlin, M.P., at Fermoy.

November 21.—Mr. J. Devlin, M.P., at Belfast.

November 23.—House of Commons.—Irish Land Bill. Lords' Amendments discussed.

November 24.—House of Commons.—Irish Land Bill. Bill returned to House of Lords.

November 26.—House of Lords.—Irish Land Bill. Commons' amendments considered and agreed to.

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